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FREE COINAGE, THE BLIGHT OF OUR COMMERCE.

More attention is given now than was given a few weeks ago to the effects of the free coinage of silver upon the masses of the people. The paradox that free coinage will decrease the supply of money and at the same time decrease its value is becoming generally understood by those who at first objected to the statement as impossible. The very natural explanation is that the silver dollar has both a legal value and a market value, and the market value is absolutely beyond the control of American congressional action; so that along with a decreased supply of money we must contemplate seeing its real value (not its nominal or legal-tender value) reduced from one hundred cents to seventy cents, or even less. The consequences to the pensioner, to the depositor in savings banks, to the holder of life insurance, to those employed upon salaries or in receipt of fixed incomes, cannot but be disastrous.

The serious, in fact the blasting, effect of any free-coinage measure upon the wage-earning or working classes has not as yet received proper attention. To them free coinage would come with more evils than lined Pandora's box. The fundamental points from which collateral injuries without number may be traced are distinctly as follows:

1. By causing the withdrawal of gold from general circulation, "free coinage" would contract the currency about 33⅓ per cent, and be followed, of course, by the cessation of many kinds of business employing labor and curtailing all industrial enterprises, through which very many men and women would lose their customary employment.

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2. The result of the increased competition for work would reduce the wages paid to those who were fortunate enough to retain employment.

3. The reduced wages would be paid in money worth (market value) but seventy cents, instead of, as now, one hundred cents.

4. The accumulated savings of the working people, usually invested in savings banks, building associations, life-insurance policies, and in small loans, would be cut down nearly one-third. These evils open up a long vista of injustice and of suffering for the worthy and comparatively helpless masses which may well stagger the honest and enthusiastic, but mistaken, advocate of free coinage.

Now, who would be the real sufferers?

1. The 4,258,893 who own the $1,524,844,506 of deposits in savings banks. Free coinage would cost them $457,453,351.

2. The principal creditors next, and of the Government too, are the 800,000 pensioners, whose $157,000,000 of pensions would be cut down $47,000,000 in one year, or $470,000,000 in ten years.

3. Then come the great army of 5,000,000 policy-holders in life-insurance companies, whose $7,500,000,000 in policies would be cut down $2,250,000,000.

4. After these, the 500,000 men and women who have invested in building and loan associations.

5. Then come the millions of clergymen, clerks, men in the army and navy and civil service, and others who work for salaries or fixed incomes, all of whom, while nominally getting one hundred cents, would actually get but seventy cents. Free coinage would cost these classes $175,000,000 a year.

6. Last, but certainly not least, the vast army of 10,085,956 working men, women, and children (in 1880), all of whom would, to start with, suffer a large reduction in wages, due to the increased competition for the reduced amount of employment to be had, and then after getting lower nominal wages would find their dollar purchase but 70 cents' worth of goods, causing them a loss amounting to the stupendous annual sum of $1,210,614,720. Every time the money of a country is debased, these are the classes which suffer most.

Still another question is coming forward with much force and demanding consideration; that is, whether or not we have not now far too much money locked up in the shape of unproductive silver. The hundreds of millions of dollars of silver at Washington are absolutely producing nothing, and their accumulation is "bearing" the market

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price of silver and promises in the comparatively near future to put it down to eighty-five or eighty-seven cents per ounce. Already sensible people feel that if this silver had been allowed to seek its natural market, as wheat and cotton do, we should have had in its place articles of value which would now be producing wealth and enlarging in a thousand ways our profitable productions. There is a large class of thinkers who are disposed to condemn in the strongest terms the continuous piling up in an unproductive and mischievous manner actual wealth which, if made available, would employ thousands and tens of thousands of workingmen in profitable enterprises at remunerative wages. Our exports for the past twelve months have exceeded our imports about $160,000,000, and gold ought to be pouring in on that account. On the contrary, it is rushing out every week to Europe. European confidence is so shaken that not only have European capitalists stopped making their customary investments here, but are also rapidly realizing on past investments, fearing that if they defer they will soon be obliged to accept for a dollar that which will bring them but seventy cents.

As I recently said on the floor of the House of Representatives, we ought to pass a bill stopping the monthly purchases of silver and instructing the Director of the Mint, under the direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, with the approval of the President, to sell the silver bullion for gold, and place the gold in the Treasury, until the amount of our gold bullion shall be equal to the value of our silver bullion. This course alone will save the country from ultimate panic, general financial distress, and the single silver standard; for if the monthly purchase of $4,500,000 of silver bullion is not stopped, sooner or later more evil will result than any words of mine can picture.

I showed then that we were in a peculiar position and in a most fortunate one too. Great crops here and small ones abroad give us Heaven's opportunity to correct our mistakes of the past. If we stop silver purchases and restore the confidence of Europe in us, gold will flow back here in a stream. We should, but for this Bland-bill discussion, be getting in from Europe fifteen or twenty millions of gold a month; whereas now Europe, alarmed and excited, is sending back our stocks, bonds, and securities by the ream. Her purchases of a quarter of a century past are coming back by every steamer, and instead of gold reaching our shores, it pours out and away from us through every channel. If we continue this wild craze for free silver, fair crops in Europe next year will bankrupt the United States.

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Credit makes currency much more rapidly than the mints, and without waste. When the standard of value is kept steady and unchangeable as a measure, confidence expands and credit enlarges. The nation which keeps its money on a parity with the best in the world never has too little. It can in its need draw, and does command for its use, all its needs from the store of the world. It is like a solvent merchant who can go to bank and get what money he needs, because the banker knows he will be repaid in full.

England, in 1819, established her money upon a firm basis (gold), and has never departed from it, altered her standard, or tampered with it, and as a result the world does its business with the pound sterling as its universal measure, its unit of value, and London has become the capital of the commercial world. And yet to-day, when we need foreign markets, when we must expand our commerce, there are those who would, by the passage of such a measure as the Bland bill, cause distrust of American money and of our commercial stability in every part of the world. We never needed a policy of stability more than now. I will repeat here a prediction that I recently made in Congress: If we keep the standard of our money the gold dollar, we shall draw the commerce of the hemispheres to our shores, and after a while the trade of the world will be measured by and all commercial transactions be based upon our dollar, which because of its decimal character is more convenient than the English pound. If we maintain our standard, we can never have too much or too little money. The ebb and flow of the world's commerce will take care of that, and higher interest will attract it here when needed, while low rates will expel it when we need commodities more and money less.

MICHAEL D. HARTER.

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THE THREAT OF THE PRESENT COINAGE LAW.

In a short article on the evils and the menace of free silver coinage the argument must be summary, and only those will be addressed who grant those principles of finance that are discerned and are supposed to be established by men whom the world has regarded as well-informed and trustworthy. Those who refuse to see causes before they come to feel effects must, as usual, treat all *à priori* reasoning as mere theory and deny any proof in advance of suffering acute enough to be unmistakable.

The people of the Northwestern States do not expect to escape the financial laws which govern all, and they must abide, no less than others, the consequences they entail. Such differences in effect as they encounter, if in some particulars possibly more severe than elsewhere, spring only from conditions which render their affairs acutely sensitive to the abuse of those laws whose penalties none can avoid.

The currency of civilized communities may be natural or artificial; that is to say, it may rest on the basis of some commodity which by reason of its natural characteristics is best adapted to give a steady and uniform standard for reference and measurement of value of other commodities, or it may be merely decreed by municipal law, and so far as possible by that means be forced into the hands of men as their medium of exchange and a fictitious gauge of values. But if anything be accepted from experience, the truth surely must be that although by an artificial currency apparent prices may be fixed to labor and property in its various forms, real values will depend on the relations of things among themselves, and so far as the apparent prices cause persons to govern their dealings they simply mislead and cheat them. Necessarily it follows that such fraudulent effects are mainly visited on those whose dealings are comparatively small, the many who labor to produce each his little share of the general sum; although, in the disordering fluctuations for such a currency, always dependent on the caprices of legislation, all interests of property and business, large and small, sustain unnecessary and exasperating losses. Those concerned in the larger affairs of business must sustain at the

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first the heavier shock from any serious derangement of the currency, and their outcry is naturally foremost and sharpest against every proposal of it; but it is a foolish deduction that therefore the suffering and injury will in the end fall upon them most heavily. They are sure quickly to turn aside from themselves the main force of the blow, and the ultimate and grievous losses, as with the outrages of wicked financial legislation in general, descend upon the many, the poorer classes, not the richer few; and it ought to be reckoned fortunate that the inceptive harm keeps the strong influences of business alive and alert to resist at the threshold every marauding scheme.

An artificial currency is always an injustice to the people and is a creation at variance with natural law and the rights of liberty. It must depend on arbitrary, despotic law, which forces awry natural methods and natural values, and although sometimes, as during our Civil War, an artificial currency is resorted to from supposed necessity to endure its evils in order to prevent greater evils of another sort, yet generally in the long history of mankind it has been only a designed agency of despotism indirectly to rob the people for the gain of a tyrant or some tyrannical class. Nothing short of delusion can obscure the guiding light of that principle—so long approved by reason and experience—that stability is the prime essential of sound money and an honest currency, the feature of the highest value to the laboring and producing classes of the country, and of absolute justice to all. This was a foundation stone in the doctrine of the fathers of democracy, whose faith and purposes turned only toward the common good of all men. And stability requires first, for the money basis, an intrinsically valuable commodity, which shall as nearly as possible possess unchangeability of value in its average relation to other commodities, and secondly the instant redeemability on demand of every form of currency which invention may supply to enlarge the function of money.

The provision of such a commodity was beyond human power, and the choice of the one which alone meets the requirements of the case has been in no sense the work of any rank, class, or special community among men. Nature provided it, and pointed it out so unmistakably that all men have always recognized it. There was never an intelligent community skilled in commerce which failed to perceive in gold the metal obviously and beyond question the superior for this use over all other products of man's labor on the earth; and the clearness of this perception has increased with intelligence and

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civilization. Its physical qualifications for money surpass those of all other metals; while everywhere scattered about the earth it is accessible to man's insatiate search, yet elusive enough safely to hold its chary worth above substantial depreciation, being always, everywhere, among all men, with mere temporary exceptions, for weight and bulk the dearest of metals. Its place is fixed by a higher than human power, and it needs no aid from human law. No country can "demonetize" it to a second rank, and no syndicate of mine owners is capable of "booming" it in the markets of the world.

Though classed as "precious," the metal silver has always occupied among commercial peoples an inferior position, as surely decreed by nature, because of its inferior characteristics. Even when the aggregate quantity of it was less, it was accounted of far less value than gold, and during the modern centuries of commercial enlightenment and expansion that relative value has gradually but continually lessened. Within a few years past the rate of its production has so enormously increased that now annually four times as much is thrown upon the markets of the world as a generation ago. Superadded to these, invention, which has transformed all conditions in our century, has so wonderfully augmented the supporting power of gold as the basis of currency, by multiplying the facilities for exchange of commodities without money, through checks, warehouse receipts, clearing-houses and other devices, that the yellow metal alone is abundantly adequate to perform the entire office of metallic money in everything but the subsidiary needs of small dealings. This fact is conclusively proved by experience in Europe. No matter what motives caused the change, the fact is that, following England's lead many years since, the commercial nations of the Continent have so far established gold as the sole money base of all currency that, in the recent language of the Director of the Mint, "practically, to-day, all Europe is on the gold standard." Even remote Roumania melts her silver coinage to sell at mere bullion price, to be done with it. So far from disaster ensuing, the currency of Europe has become safer, more stable, natural, and useful, as evidenced by this wider-spreading policy and persistence in it with growing experience of its benefits; and the ample sufficiency of gold to serve as the sole base of currency for peoples who are as intelligent and enterprising in commerce, and require as abundant and free use of money as any on earth, stands demonstrated beyond fair dispute. Granting the accusation of selfishness and greed levelled against the leading nations by the silver advocates, the fact

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stands that their policy has the wisdom of enlightened selfishness and is effective, and that theirs is the commercial supremacy of the world. Merely to rage against it and angrily to persist in contrary foolishness of conduct is to promote and protract their continued and utterly unnecessary advantage.

Thus, by the natural inferiority of silver for money uses, its constant relative depreciation during centuries, accelerated by recent enormous production, the probability of further vast production, and the action of Europe, silver has so lost value that the quantity in a silver dollar, though equal in worth to a gold dollar when the weight and fineness of these coins were fixed, is hardly now of two-thirds that value. For the other third, the silver dollar is no more than *fiat* money; indeed, less and worse than ordinary *fiat* money, because no Government promise is behind it. The statute of 1890 declares only the "established policy" of the Government "to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other, upon the present legal ratio, *or* such ratio as *may be* provided by law," nothing more. So long as the Government can and will exchange gold for silver on the present ratio, the silver dollar passes, like subsidiary coins, at nominal value. When that ability or will ceases, the legal-tender power of silver coins will be effective only to rob those who must accept them in payment of existing debts, but unavailing to force the purchase of anything at more than their actual value. Can any one suppose the Government, if free coinage should be adopted, will first stamp for every owner of silver 66 cents' worth as a dollar, and immediately give him 100 cents' worth of gold in exchange for it? Whence will the Treasury procure the gold, and by what means? Is it, then, a prediction or an obvious fact that the adoption of free coinage must immediately work the loss to all existing debts (not specially payable in gold), including pensions and Government obligations, of the difference in real value between the gold and silver dollars, now over one-third, and threatening to be more, and a corresponding change of prices for all commodities in all new transactions —a financial revolution, in short, unparalleled in the legislation of civilized states?

It is answered by silver advocates that the marvellous consequence will be the prompt rise of silver to parity with gold at the existing coinage ratio. But the most hardy can claim no more than his belief in such a result, to be proven in no manner short of the actual experiment. To try that experiment, that they who have silver may thus

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reap profit—for in such case none others would—it is proposed to cast in jeopardy of universal disaster the business interests of the entire nation; and this puts upon the project its fairest face.

But for the present consideration, it may be granted that, however clear the certainty of disaster, there is real doubt whether free coinage would not raise the value of silver as claimed, instead of throwing the currency down. The fact remains that a large body of men believe, as they believe in the law of gravitation or the recurrence of the seasons, that the consequence would be an overwhelming, universal calamity. And it has been the purpose of the preceding *résumé* of well-known considerations to exhibit the reasonable foundation of this belief, rather than to argue the free-coinage question. For it is to the fact of this conviction and the sincerity and power of it —surely beyond any dispute—that attention is now particularly directed. By reason of this conviction, serious injuries to many interests have already resulted; and because of it, if for no other reason, the continued agitation of the project will continue to inflict injury. The evil will be more than proportionate to the imminence of the real peril, because protraction of anxiety brings to many minds the effects of a nearer approximation to the disaster than perhaps actually is reached.

It is most important to note, in the first place, the relations to our affairs of those who are governed by this conviction of the evil consequences of a free-coinage law. This class comprises substantially all who have most to do with our largest financial affairs and arteries of business—the bankers, the trust companies, the governors of railroads, the great merchants, those, in short, who own or control the principal accumulations of wealth in the country, as well as those who by life-study are supposed most perfectly to have grasped the laws and acquired the wisdom of finance. Notwithstanding the prejudice which may be felt by some, can any deny to these men vast influence, and to their opinions vast effect on the business of the country?

Men of this class are ever most alert to anticipate the event and to guard their interests in advance of its coming. Much has been done by them already to forefend the evil day. Thus, money-lenders have already adopted the precaution of requiring all debts and securities to be payable in gold coin. The president of a large trust company informed the writer some time since that all the obligations of his concern were already explicitly written in such terms—an illustration of the certainty with which the strong will cast the heavier con-

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sequences of the misfortune, should it ever befall the country, upon the many weaker and less provident. The apprehension will, as it already has done to some degree, harden the rigor of creditors for payment of debts, and impose an otherwise needless severity in their dealing with mortgagers whose necessities require them to sue for extension, unhappily a feature of special interest to farmers and other industrial borrowers, of whom the Northwest holds so many. The rate of interest also depends much, as the world has learned, upon the security of the principal, and inevitably that exaction from them who must borrow will be heavier by reason of the introduction of this new element of uncertainty which must attend the contemplation of loans, sensibly diminishing the amounts which Eastern capitalists might otherwise furnish for employment in the West, and increasing the ratio of demand to supply as well as the terms which will tempt investors to risk at all. In communities where within but a few years the rate of interest has gradually fallen from ten to six per cent, the crushing pressure of high interest upon him whose toil is under that bondage and the painful weight of every added cent of the rate will be appreciated.

Especially upon the millions of our countrymen engaged in husbandry, the infliction of this fever of unrest becomes peculiarly severe. Whatever others may do to elude the evil, the farmer has simply to suffer it. He stands always in time of financial havoc like a foot-traveller in a storm on the prairies: endurance with no shelter is all there is for him. No combinations are practicable for his relief; all combinations are for protection at his cost. Last year the Northwestern farmer seemed fortune's favorite. His granaries swelled with his gathered harvests, while want abroad sent him plentiful purchasers and prices such as he was wont to see only when he had little or nothing to sell. As usual, his luck turned immensely to the nation's good. He stopped the country's dangerous export of gold and called back the yellow coin from beyond the seas. No new crops have added to the store here or stayed there the need of food. Yet within a few months wheat has lost in price one-fifth, and other cereals, meats, and agricultural products in heavy proportion. Among the complex causes to which this decrease may be due, who shall with justice deny a serious share to the cloud which for years has been growing darker with menace to the stability of our currency, and, during the past winter's anxiety, has sometimes seemed to show the gleam of the thunderbolts which may descend from it? Lay but a

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small share of the loss to this agency, and the aggregate is many millions, of which two-thirds fall on a dozen Western States this side of the Rocky Mountains.

In the cotton States of the South, much of the eagerness for free coinage comes from the fall in price of the great staple to the cost of production or below it. Yet, in a just analysis of causes, it will far more probably be found that apprehension of the threatened storm has contributed to shorten buying and to depress prices than that the desired disaster to our currency will quicken dealing or increase values. Of all men, they who till the soil should be the last to wish a silver currency which will subordinate further the commercial affairs of our country to the dominion of Europe, with whose strength we must measure ours in all foreign intercourse, both because their prices are, and perhaps long will be, fixed by conditions there, and because they have before their eyes the perfect example of practical subjugation which must ensue from it to them who go to the soil for livelihood. What can there be in the circumstances of the ryots of India to induce American farmers to adopt the silver currency which those tillers of the earth enjoy, only to deliver them as prey to greedy England and silver-scorning Europe?

The production and trade of our people extend to very many different articles and objects, to nearly every form, indeed, which man's labor yields; the volume of all is vast, exceeding accurate statistical account, and the currents of business are intertwined and commingled beyond possibility of clear and satisfactory tracing of their mutual relations; so that analysis and just apportionment of effects to each several cause of all the causes that enter for good or ill into the common resultant are unattainable. None the less it is certain that this agitation of a scheme so far-reaching and perilous, which our skilled financiers believe will bring havoc with it, must inflict in advance, merely from fear of it, to some degree the evils that would be realized by the event itself. In no department of human affairs is the saying more just than in the financial world that "coming events cast their shadows before." The shadow of apprehension is with us now, though the event never befall. For while its exact influence and injury may not be computed, it is certain that the calamity of a currency revolution has been during some months brought so imminently to impend over the country that the menace has started fear, alarmed business men, and more or less changed their conduct in many transactions; setting them to guard their property by unusual devices, and lessening their

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readiness freely to invest money in any form, either in loans or enterprises of business. This shadow is baleful, and to the extent of its shade, whether we can gauge it or not, it has done harm to industry and those who live by industrial labor; and the perpetuation of the agitation will thicken the gloom and intensify the harm.

The haze in our atmosphere is not, however, due altogether to the prospect of free coinage. The coinage law as it stands already is alone sufficient to gather portentous clouds in the financial sky. From 1878 to 1890 we were coining silver dollars at the average rate of only about twenty-nine millions a year, giving at the end of 1889 a total of three hundred and sixty millions. The silver producers and many of their opponents were disappointed by the absence of expected effects; the former because silver continued to sink in value, the latter because it did not displace gold. Gresham's law, that the poorer currency will expel the better, seemed inoperative. The reason is not far to seek. It must be a condition of its operation that the poorer currency be sufficient in quantity and capable of use, in order to effect substitution; and our silver stock failed in both respects. Two or three hundred millions of silver could not be substituted for seven hundred millions of gold, nor could a metal currency be available for large business when one must carry to the clearing-house more than a thousand pounds in weight to pay a balance of seventeen thousand dollars. The silver advocates pressed their adversaries with the failure of inconsiderate predictions, and strove to repair the failure of their own predictions by demanding a free-coinage law. They obtained half the loaf, at least; and with but little more time the Government and the people will have parted with all benefit to them of the other half. For meantime the device of silver certificates had relieved the cumbrous metal of its crippling immobility, by substituting a paper representative for the actual dollar; and the act of 1890 has vastly accelerated the flow by which the volume of the perilous currency is accumulating; so that on the first of April last the total quantity of silver in actual circulation, added to silver certificates and notes of the new issue in circulation or in the Treasury, had become $539,894,447, and is increasing at about four and one-half millions a month. How long will it require under present methods to secure the volume and force of silver adequate to displace gold?

That portentous event has already made its *début*, and in repetition of history. Beginning with February last year, the output of gold to Europe became in seven months $76,508,618, and no year has wit-

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nessed such a current since 1864, when the depreciated war paper performed the same office of chasing gold away. Famine abroad and superabundance here combined to set back the movement of this stream for a time, and gave us space to retreat from our folly. But for a time only, which we have not employed. With February of this year the outpour resumed, and a net $4,901,937 of gold was lost in that month, exceeding by over $800,000 the same month in 1891. The drain was continued during March to an amount nearly or quite as great, though at this time the exact figures are not made up. Yet the total excess of our exports of merchandise in 1891 overran $142,000,000, and in the two months of January and February of this year exceeded $58,000,000. Let not sanguine assurance or interested cries obscure this sign.

The national Treasury has become a national bank of issue, and if it were any other than the nation's its notes would be quickly liable to protest. The superstructure of circulation has grossly outgrown its base. To secure redemption and maintenance of the gold value of three hundred and forty-six millions of greenbacks, the law has long required one hundred millions of gold reserve—a provision none too great in sound prudence. But in order to maintain silver dollars and the new Treasury notes at a gold value, the Government must in like manner be ready to redeem these also in gold. And what is the problem which this necessity puts upon the Treasury? On the first of April the total of these outstanding obligations, including silver dollars, silver certificates, Treasury notes of 1890, greenbacks, and currency certificates, in circulation and liable to be presented for gold, was $815,505,264. To meet the liability, the Treasury held in gold coin and bullion, over the amount deposited on gold certificates, only $125,815,040, not one dollar for six; or, setting to one side the entire body of greenbacks with the gold reserve appropriated to their maintenance, but $25,815,040 to support the redeemability of $468,824,248 of outstanding circulation, in order to maintain the so-called "parity" of silver dollars and silver currency. What is the hope for a greater strength? Month by month the liabilities increase, as the Treasury notes of 1890 continue to be issued; while, on the other hand, the charges on the Treasury press for more than its receipts by taxation, under the legislation of the Fifty-first Congress. Is it a matter of wonder that European holders of our securities are making prudent haste to secure gold payments while they may, returning these demands in larger volume than our large exports can discharge? No

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long continuance of pressure for gold can be now sustained without exhausting governmental power to meet it. Resort to silver payments is suspension and financial revulsion. How much farther must we hang over the precipice before we understand its peril and return to measures of safety?

The field of finance has been from the earliest times furrowed and torn by the delusions of mankind, strangely susceptible of fantastic whims under the spur of want or the lure of riches, and old, oft-exploded fancies have come again and again, as now, their guise little varied, to surge in impotent fury against the solid laws that cannot be altered or cheated. The time will come when it will be a curious study to understand how it was possible for a combination of silver-mine owners, whose self-interest was so obvious and so opposed to popular interests, skilfully to foment the wide acceptance by an intelligent people of a delusion so harmful, so defiant of established laws and long experience, so hopeless of success against the antagonism of the commercial world, as the project of silver free coinage under the conditions proposed.

WM. F. VILAS.

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FREE COINAGE AND THE LOSS OF SOUTHERN STATESMANSHIP.

THE recent vote on the Bland bill in the House of Representatives at Washington was fairly indicative of the sentiment and politics which control what has been not inaptly named the New South—a very travesty, indeed, upon the South as it was in the golden days of the Republic, when the conduct of Southern representatives was controlled by patriotic motives rather than purely personal considerations, and when great public questions were settled upon their merits and not upon the possible effect which the calling of the roll might have upon the congressman's success in "getting the delegates."

The changes wrought by war and reconstruction have not only affected the national interests of the South, but it is plain that they have also tainted the character of our citizenship, and made the spoils of office rather than high public duty the goal of political ambition. In the New South, men seek office for the money there is in it rather than for the service they can render their country, and men who hold office not infrequently administer the duties of their station as "a private snap" rather than as a public trust. The ideal has given place to the material, and principle stands aside for policy. The spirit which has controlled the attitude of a majority of Southern congressmen upon the silver question received a just rebuke from Representative Brawley, of South Carolina, in his recent speech against the passage of the Bland bill. Taking his political life in his hands, with a courage which is seldom exhibited in these days of expediency, he defended his action to his constituents and the country. "There has been," said he, "the strongest and most subtle temptation to earn their approval by hypocritical conformity with what is represented to be their will; yet my convictions as to the injurious effect of this bill have been so strong that such mendacious compliances have been impossible to me, and, dear as their approval would be to me, I hold my conscience higher than their praise." There is much of the spirit of the better days of the Republic in these burning words—the spirit which governed the conduct of the statesmen of the Old South.

The New South, which looks well in newspaper trade editions, and

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whose praises have been sounded from Plymouth Rock to the coral reefs of the Mexican Gulf, with true maternal instinct may "point with pride" to the work of its sons in the Congress at Washington. There was a time in the history of this section of the country when "the gold and silver of the Constitution" was regarded as the only legal tender for the settlement of debts and when counterfeit coin was not regarded as honest money. Yet it must not be understood that a majority of the people of the South are opposed to a sound currency. Unfortunately, the South has been placed in a false position in respect to the free-coinage question by its representatives. Possibly they have felt bound to conform their conduct to the declarations contained in the Democratic platforms of their respective States. I have not the platforms of all the Southern States at hand, but the following plank from the platform adopted by the Democratic Convention of South Carolina in 1890 will show the ground upon which all the congressmen from this State, except the member from the first district, will probably seek to defend their votes:

"The Democratic party of South Carolina in convention assembled hereby reaffirms the platform and principles of the National and State Democratic party, particularly favoring the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the increase of currency, and the repeal of the internal-revenue laws."

As matter of fact, the National Democratic platform contains not one word of reference to any one of these three propositions. They have never been included in the National platform and form no part of the Democratic creed; yet the only authority in politics or morals that the National representatives of this State have for their votes in favor of the Bland bill is to be found in a State platform which was concocted to meet the exigencies of a local political revolution. It may be and doubtless is true that the representatives of other Southern States will find similar excuse for their conduct in platforms or resolutions which have been adopted by factional assemblies or by oath-bound organizations working under independent charters in the interest of nearly every form of political and financial heresy under the sun. Certainly a majority of the people of the South, whatever the platforms may say, are in favor of a sound and stable currency.

In the opinion of the wisest men in the country, the free, unlimited, and independent coinage of silver would bring disaster to every industrial and commercial enterprise, would practically reduce the wages of every workingman thirty per cent, would depreciate the value of the earnings of the poor, and would make the tax-ridden people pay

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the tribute of their toil and suffering to the silver-mine owners of the West and the speculators in bullion. It would disturb the trade relations of the United States with the great commercial nations of the world, and would substitute in our country the standard of India for the standard of Europe. By way of compensation for the unparalleled financial panic which such legislation would produce, the debtor class would probably be enabled to settle with their creditors dollar for dollar, the dollar being worth seventy cents or less. The trouble with most of the debtor class in the South, however, is that they are naturally borrowers, and if the free-silver bill should be passed, they would not be able to borrow except upon approved security, in the absence of which they would speedily be converted into beggars; or, borrowing, they would be required to pay so dearly for the accommodation that they would be placed still more at the mercy of the financial centres and more severely than ever within the grasp of the "money devil." Although this is true, yet if the debtor be a man of honest principles, he would feel himself under obligation to pay his creditor the equivalent of the money he had received.

The people of the South do not want free silver at the expense of their honesty or for the benefit of the silver speculators. They demand "financial relief." They desire that it shall come, however, not so much by the inflation of the currency as by the reduction of taxation. Their experience with Confederate money during the war between the States has made them chary of "chancing" silver, or of adopting any "reckless experiment" for the increase of *per-capita* circulation. The story is told that Mr. Memminger, the Secretary of the Treasury of the Confederate Government, was asked on one occasion what amount of money the government at Richmond had issued, and he replied: "Four hundred million or four hundred billion, I cannot say exactly which." Whether this story be true or not, there is no doubt that the South had more money than it could use, and even to this day—more than twenty-six years "after the ratification of a treaty of peace between the Confederate States and the United States of America"—it can be had in some of the unreconstructed parts of the country by the hamper-basketful, a sad reminder of the days that are dead and a silent witness to the fact that something more than the fiat of government is required to make money out of paper promises to pay. But the people of the South do not ask for free silver. They would prefer free trade, that they might sell their products in the dearest and buy their supplies in the cheapest markets of the world.

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As a step toward the accomplishment of their reasonable desires, they ask, first, that the restrictions which the Government has placed upon commerce shall be removed, and, in the second place, that there shall be a sufficient volume of honest money for the transaction of business. The farmers of the South, in whose interest ostensibly the Bland bill was devised, are paid for their cotton in gold, the crop of the present year, even at the low prices which have been obtained for the staple, being worth over $350,000,000, and they are not willing to jeopard their own interests even for the sake of cultivating neighborly relations with the silver kings of the West. Besides, the members of the Farmers' Alliance have been informed by the chief of their apostles that "free coinage will not increase the volume of currency to any great extent; neither will it bring about a revival of better times to the extent predicted." The agitation of the free-coinage question has had a wholesome influence in the South, and the farmers, whose present thorough political organization is the occasion of much of the pretence in high places, are "saying nothing but sawing wood," deriving much profit from the campaign of education.

The passage of a free-coinage bill would have the following effects: Gold would be withdrawn from circulation and from the Treasury of the United States, thereby reducing the volume of currency by about $600,000,000. This would cause a great stringency in money all over the country, and would lead inevitably to a financial panic. It would be impossible to borrow money except on the best kind of collaterals, and lenders as a rule would require all loans to be made payable in gold. Those who wanted to borrow on such security as planters and farmers are able to furnish would have to look to speculators and usurers, who would charge such a rate as would repay them for the difference between silver and gold at the maturity of their loans, and the chances are that the speculators and usurers would always be on the safe side. As the full capacity of the mint is about fifty to sixty million dollars a year in silver dollars, it would require several years to make up the deficiency in the currency caused by the withdrawal of gold; but in the mean time we should be reduced to a silver currency, and as all commercial transactions in Europe are based on gold, exchange on England or Europe would advance in value in proportion to the difference between gold and silver, and all imported articles would rise in price in a corresponding ratio. Thus an article that now costs £1 sterling, or $4.86, would, with silver at thirty points difference, cost $6.32 in currency. The importer would

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of course add his profit on $6.32, and the retail dealer would add his profit. For example, an article that now costs the importer £1 sterling, or $4.86, is sold by him, with ten per cent added, at $5.34, and by the retail dealer, with twenty-five per cent more added, at $6.68. With exchange at $6.32 in place of $4.86, the same article, under the free-silver standard, would be sold by the importer at $6.95 and by the retail dealer at $8.69. This rule would apply to all articles bought abroad and paid for in gold. Our imports now average about $800,000,000 a year, and we should be paying on imports alone about $240,000,000 more in currency at importers' cost, or $330,000,000 more at the cost of the consumer, than we pay at present.

The manufacturers of this country would not be slow in putting the price of their products on a par with the imported articles, and the cost of living would advance accordingly. It is true that all articles of export that depend on the price abroad for their price in this country, cotton for example, would feel the benefit of the advance in sterling exchange, but not to so great an extent; as with a fluctuating rate of exchange the exporter would have to guard against these changes, and leave a proper margin in making his purchases. Thus while the planter might get in currency twenty-five per cent more for his cotton, he would be paying about forty per cent more for all that he bought; and as the planters usually buy each year quite as much as they sell, if not a little more, they would be living at a disadvantage, as compared with the present, of about fifteen per cent; while the farming class who do not produce articles for export would, along with all persons living on fixed salaries or working for wages, suffer the bad effects of paying greatly more for all they consumed and derive no advantage whatever from the increased price of our exports.

What the effect of the cheap-money agitation in a Democratic Congress will be upon the fortunes of the Democratic party it is difficult to conjecture. The party has hitherto been sound on the currency, but the debates in Congress do not promise well for the future. Neither is it creditable to the ancient conservatism of the Southern section of the country that it was only by the help of Republican votes that the solid South was prevented from wrecking at one and the same time the fortunes of the party and the finances of the country.

J. C. HEMPHILL.

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TEN YEARS OF THE STANDARD OIL TRUST.

WHEN I requested a friend who was denouncing trusts to state the grounds of his objections, he answered vigorously: "Trusts are combines, and that settles the whole question." The public is inclined to close the controversy about trusts in the same manner. It must certainly be admitted that the trust is a combine; and so is a partnership or any other business association. If all combinations are to be suppressed, all associations in business must cease. Some objectors, including law writers and judges, not a whit more logical than my friend, define trusts to be combinations for certain illegal purposes. Such a definition also settles the whole question. If trusts are combinations for illegal purposes, no more can be said in their favor than in favor of a partnership or any other association for illegal purposes.

The real question is, What is the objection to trusts, combinations, or associations formed not for illegal purposes, but for the purpose of carrying on business? So long as the business is small and the trust is formed by a few persons and called a partnership, there seems to be no serious objection on the part of the public. If the trust takes the form of a corporation not too large nor too successful, people not too much tainted with socialism seem willing to tolerate it. If it takes the form of a large corporation, does a large business, and makes much money, it is denounced by persons of communistic tendencies, and it is yet to be determined whether it will be allowed peaceably to exist. If it takes the form which gave rise to the name Trust as applied to business associations, namely, a trust of corporate stocks by means of which a body of men united in interest are enabled to carry on business through separate corporate agencies, it is not at all tolerated, is even denounced as a crime; and yet no objection on the ground of antagonism to public interests can be urged to such an association to which any other business association is not equally amenable.

Reasonable persons opposed to trusts, if they will analyze their reasons, will find them based upon the opinion that certain evils are incident to all associations; that these evils increase as the association

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increases in wealth and power; and that by reason thereof association itself may be carried to such an extent as to become a public evil. The real question concerning trusts, therefore, is whether the evils incident to large associations for business purposes are such as to render these associations contrary to public policy. The present controversy in relation to trusts is but the continuation of a struggle that has been in progress for five centuries. It is the assertion, on one side, of the right of freedom of association for business purposes, and on the other side a denial of that right because association tends to monopoly, tends to increase prices, tends to suppress competition, and tends to crush out individual industry. The advocates of liberty of association admit that association confers power upon the associates, that it gives them an advantage over unassociated individuals, and that such power may be used for evil as well as for good. On the other hand, they allege that association is a necessary instrument of modern industry; that it co-operates with and is made necessary by the steam engine, the railroad, and the power loom; and that, while these instrumentalities of modern industry may produce some evils, such evils are more than counterbalanced by the advantages conferred upon mankind.

During the five centuries of conflict referred to, the theory has always been that associations tended to increase prices and to oppress the public; the facts, however, have always been contrary to the theory. Legislators and justices in olden days feared high prices more, if possible, than witchcraft, and the former fear has not entirely passed away with the latter visionary terror. The attempt by law to fix, regulate, and protect prices, directly or indirectly, has never ceased. Laws regulating the prices of bread and beer are so old that their date is not known. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century the statute-books abound in regulations of prices of meat, clothing, poultry, and wine. Not only were prices fixed by law, but other laws were enacted to prevent laws fixing prices from being violated. Thus it was that it became criminal to buy commodities on their way to market, to buy in order to sell again in the same or a neighboring market, and to buy in large quantities. Thus also originated the whole brood of crimes known as offences or conspiracies against trade. Thus also originated the laws, both statute and common, against associations or combinations of business men.

Permit a brief reference in illustration of this fact to the laws against combinations of laborers. But one reason was ever given for these laws, namely, that high wages caused high prices for the neces-

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saries of life. The earliest statute against combinations, in 1425, made it a felony for masons to confederate together to raise their wages above the amount fixed by law. From that date, for nearly five centuries, wages were fixed by law and workmen were forced by penalties to work at the fixed rates. Not only were workmen punished for taking greater wages than those fixed by law, but employers were punished for paying them. By some statutes justices and mayors were permitted to fix the rates of wages, they to be governed in so doing by the cheapness and dearness of the necessaries of life.

Against these infamous laws laborers combined, labor guilds and secret societies innumerable were organized. It became necessary, therefore, for the law to attack combinations which were intended to keep up rates of wages. Thus it was that combination itself became a crime in the eyes of the law and in the estimation of lawmakers, who were consumers, not producers, esteeming laborers as little better than slaves, and shopkeepers and men of business as scarcely worthy their attention. The effect, as they supposed, of every combination of workmen, manufacturers, or traders was, by increasing wages, to increase the price of the necessaries of life. By Statute 24th Edward III., "alliances, *covines*, congregations, chapters, ordinances, and oaths made by masons and carpenters shall be void and annulled." The object of the infamous "statute of laborers" of 5th Elizabeth, which fixed hours of labor and empowered judges to fix rates of wages, was to break up combinations of laborers. The Act of 40th George III. made criminal any combination between workmen for the advancement of wages. Even after these acts were repealed, laborers were punished by the judges upon the ground that combination was an offence at common law. Lord Kenyon said that not only was a combination of workmen to obtain an increase of wages indictable, but it would be indictable in the master to agree to raise wages. Now, I think it will be admitted that workmen have the right to combine to obtain fair wages, and it is true, whether admitted or not, that good wages do not increase the price of products. These laws against laborers are a fair sample of enactments intended to prevent increase of prices, and they show the origin as well as the effects of the prevalent opinion that the purpose and tendency of all combinations was to increase prices.

Laws as severe as those against combinations of laborers were for like reasons directed against all manner of business associations. So strong was the feeling of the governing class against such associations

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that judges frequently pronounced combination a crime in itself. Yet, as already said, business combinations were common. Partnerships existed, and all the potency and tendency that inhere in any combination, be it joint-stock association, partnership, or trust, to repress competition, to fix and influence prices, to restrain production, and to monopolize business, exist in the partnership. We may wonder that men denounced as wholly evil, and the law punished with severity, combinations, and yet this form of combination went unchallenged. Singular as it may be, the same fact exists to-day, and legislators and judges declaim against combinations, apparently in earnest, when they themselves belong to combinations and know well that the business of the country cannot be carried on without them. Call the combination a partnership, and it is all right; call it a corporation, and it is barely tolerated; call it a trust, and it is a crime: yet the difference is only in name. Even partnerships were not entirely allowed to escape unchallenged. As late as the 17th George III., statutes were enacted making it a penal offence for any number of persons above five to associate either by covenant or partnership for dealing in bricks, coals, and other commodities. The reason for such laws was always the same: that such covenants and partnerships tended to increase prices, to repress competition, and to monopolize business.

It is necessary only to refer to the frenzy into which association by means of joint-stock companies threw our English ancestors. The Act of 1719 recited that "opening books for public subscription and getting persons to subscribe was dangerous and mischievous," and enacted that "the combining of persons and capital and the issuing of transferable stock was a public nuisance." The offenders were subjected to a forfeiture of all lands and goods and to imprisonment for life. This law remained upon the statute-book until 1825. Few persons, however, were convicted under it, and none punished. In spite of the law, joint-stock associations multiplied in England. They were a necessity of business, and necessity knows no law. So far from destroying competition and raising prices, their effect was exactly the reverse. Competition increased, prices were lowered, and business and wealth were created. To-day they are acknowledged by all economists to be a leading instrumentality in England's business prosperity. If these laws had been strictly enforced, England would still be in the barbarism of the fourteenth century. Business, commerce, and trade are the necessary precursors of civilization; and under such laws, rigidly enforced, business, commerce, and trade were

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impossible. But slightly enforced as they were, their effect may be learned from the preamble to the statutes by which finally all laws of that nature were repealed, namely, that by interfering with business they had increased prices and thus had produced the effect they were intended to prevent.

The conflict between law and freedom of association in England reached the beginning of the end with the repeal of the statute against laborers, in 1825. It approached its termination with the repeal, in 1844, of forty statutes which had been created to protect prices by preventing so-called offences against trade, including combinations, and it ended when joint-stock association laws were passed conferring upon each and every individual the absolute right to associate for business purposes, without restriction as to number of persons, amount of capital, or the nature of the business. This battle was fought in England for five centuries; and liberty of association did not triumph until it had been demonstrated by long and bitter experience that association was essential, that its tendency was not evil, and that laws against it created the evils which they sought to prevent.

Trusts or business associations are seldom spoken of without reference to the great battle against monopolies. Kings and legislators, while creating and punishing absurd and imaginary offences against trade, were busily engaged at the same time in creating and selling monopolies to their favorites. They sold to one the privileges denied to another; nay, more, in some cases the severe laws against associations and other offences against trade were enacted to protect monopolies. It is notorious that the infamous Bubble Act, making the formation of joint-stock associations a penal offence punishable with imprisonment for life, was enacted for the purpose of protecting the monopoly granted to the South Sea Company against competition by voluntary associations. The struggle against monopoly was a struggle for freedom of association, and against laws which impeded that freedom. It was a battle not only against exclusive privileges of trade, but also against exclusive privileges of combining for the purposes of trade. The battle against monopolies was not won until the act was passed enabling any five or more persons to form joint-stock associations and to issue transferable shares—the identical thing which for a century had been a crime punishable with imprisonment for life.

The battle of trusts in England has been fought and won. The benefit and right of association for business purposes without limitation has been recognized and legalized. The law has lately been

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announced in a celebrated case to be that although the effect of combination is to check competition, the means it uses is competition; that parties combined to do lawful business are not unlawfully combined; that it is perfectly legitimate to combine capital for all purposes of trade for which capital may, apart from combination, be legitimately used in trade; that the statutes repealing the many acts relating to combinations and to prevent increase of prices were a confession of failure in the past and the indication of a new policy for the future; that the policy of law as at present declared by the legislature is against all fetters on combination and competition unaccompanied by violence or fraud or other like injurious acts; that persons thus combined may carry competition to any lengths that individuals may do; that to limit combinations would be impossible, and would be another method only of trying to set boundaries to the tides.

The same battle has been fought and won also in all the commercial countries of the European continent. Joint-stock associations may be formed by any who may desire, for any business purpose. It may be said the same laws exist in this country. It is true they do exist, or rather have existed until lately, in many of the States; but ours is a federal government, and a corporation of one State has no rights which another State is bound to respect. The aim of the trust, in the proper sense of that word, was to use the corporations of different States as agencies in a joint business. If corporations could have been formed under the Federal law, a trust never would have been heard of. Until corporations can be formed with rights in all States, hostility to trusts is a menace to legitimate business, and prevents that large liberty of association which the magnitude of our commerce demands.

It seems unaccountable that in this country and this age there should yet be lingering doubts of the benefits of association in business. It is useless to discuss the question, because business is impossible without association. Our continent is large, the railway and telegraph have brought together the most remote points, our production is enormous, the world is our market, and combinations of capital, persons, and skill must be sufficiently great to meet the demands of our trade. The last twenty-five years have been notable for the number and magnitude of business associations. Instead of competition being destroyed, it was never so strong and effective. Prices have been decreased to a wonderful extent. Individual prosperity was never greater, the wages of labor never higher, and the condition of laborers never so good.

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While contending that association decreases prices, I must necessarily acknowledge that it makes competition by individuals difficult. If it did not, it would not benefit the public. The only way to check competition is to lower prices, and the only way to encourage competition is to raise prices. If it is the policy of this country to prevent advantages over industry as carried on by separate individuals, the railroad, the telegraph, the corporation, and all our great commercial partnerships must be destroyed, and business must be relegated to its pristine condition before these great instrumentalities were invented. But so long as association is free competition cannot be destroyed. Competitors must, however, adopt the methods and pursue the paths of progress adopted and followed by the most energetic, instead of standing still and crying for the Government to come to their rescue.

The main purpose of this article is to show how one trust decreased prices. The discovery of petroleum by boring through rock strata was made in 1859. As it was soon obtained in large quantities, the question of its utilization and of finding a market for its products became at once important. A great many manufactories were erected for refining the crude article; but for many years the product was poor and dangerous, and the enterprises were not financially successful. A few persons who afterward became well known in the trade as Standard Oil men entered into partnership and erected a refinery at Cleveland. It was not until January, 1870, that their business became sufficiently important to justify the formation of a corporation for the purpose of carrying it on. They then organized the Standard Oil Company, with a capital of $1,000,000. This company continues to manufacture petroleum products at Cleveland, its capital now being $3,500,000. But the business in which these persons were interested could not be confined to the city of Cleveland. That city was west of the base of supplies, and still further west of the principal market for domestic trade and the points of shipment for the export trade. Cleveland had some advantages in facilities for railway and water shipment to counteract its natural disadvantages. But to hold and increase their trade, these men early saw that more than a local business must be done. The supply of petroleum came from Pennsylvania, and in that State it was essential that corporate agencies should be established. They allied themselves with other persons engaged there in the same industry, and either organized corporations or purchased the stocks of corporations already organized, in order to carry on business in that State through corporate agencies.

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A Standard Oil Company was organized in Pittsburg for the same purposes as the one organized in Cleveland, and the stocks of these two companies were eventually owned by the same persons. These individuals thereafter continued actively, individually as well as through the agency of several corporations, to extend and increase their petroleum business. They established agencies in different States for the sale of their products, and when the business of such agencies became of sufficient importance to warrant it, they organized corporations under the laws of the proper States in order that the industry might be carried on under corporate agencies. They located manufactories at the seaboard for the export trade, which rapidly became enormous. They began the manufacture of crude materials, barrels, cans, paints, glue, acids, etc., necessary in their business, and in some cases organized corporations for the purpose of such manufacture. They became particularly interested in the matter of transportation, and the stockholders of the various companies, as individuals, constructed pipe lines for carrying petroleum to the seaboard at the expense of millions of dollars, and held their interest as partners until corporations were established. It was the aim of these men to open markets for American petroleum. In order to introduce it into home and foreign markets, their energies and capital were directed to the making of safe and efficient illuminating oils and to the cheapening of the manufacture not only of the products of petroleum, but also of all the materials used in its manufacture and transportation.

On the 2d day of January, 1882, the number of persons thus associated in carrying on the oil business in its different branches through the agency of corporations organized by themselves for that purpose was forty. They owned the entire capital of fifteen corporations and part of the stocks of a number of others, the latter being principally small companies engaged only in trading in oil. Of the stocks thus held, nine persons owned a majority, and in consequence could cast the controlling vote in each corporation. These persons entered into an agreement by which all their stocks were placed in the hands of the nine persons owning the majority as trustees. The trustees issued certificates showing the extent of each person's interest in the stock so surrendered, and agreed to endeavor to have the business of the several corporations conducted for the best interests of all concerned.

It will readily be seen that this trust did not unite competing corporations, for the corporations were largely organized as contributory agencies for the same business. The stocks were owned by persons

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who had long been united in building up and carrying on this business, and the voting power was then held, and continued to be held until the dissolution of the trust on March 21, 1892, by the persons named as trustees by right of absolute ownership of a majority of the stocks. One effect of this trust is apparent in the fact that during the ten years of its existence the number of persons holding its certificates increased from forty to two thousand. Every clerk, agent, and employee in the various corporations who could save a few hundred dollars purchased trust certificates, and thus became interested in the business and profits. If it is desirable to multiply the number who enjoy the profits of production, how better can it be done than through ownership of stocks in industrial associations? The problem of profit-sharing can and will be solved in this way. Hundreds and thousands of employees and persons of small capital are by this means participating in the profits of the great industries of our land.

Until 1872 but little progress had been made in the oil business; the methods of transportation and manufacture were expensive, and the product poor even at the high prices obtained. The business of refining was not financially successful. It was about that time that the men in control of the Standard Oil Company began to enlarge their business, to enter into association with refiners at other places, and to use the greater capital, experience, and instrumentalities thus obtained in improving and cheapening the methods of manufacture, the quality and cost of the products, the system of transportation, and in opening markets in foreign countries. The effect upon the business was soon apparent. In 1872 refined oil at wholesale averaged 23.5 cents per gallon. The output was about 248,000,000 gallons, and the value of the exports at that price $34,000,000. The improvement in production and price from that date has been gradual and marked. In 1890 the output was 13,027,000,000 gallons, the average price 7.3 cents per gallon, and the value of exports at that low figure $51,500,000. The reduction in price between 1872 and 1891 was 16.2 cents per gallon, which shows $215,000,000 per year saved to the public by reduction of price. Crude petroleum averaged $4.00 per barrel of 42 gallons in 1872 and $0.87 per barrel in 1890; so that $99,000,000 of this annual saving is attributable solely to the reduction in the crude product consequent upon its enormous production. The remaining $116,000,000 per annum of saving is the result solely of cheapening the price of the manufactured products.

This reduction has been accomplished in various ways. At first

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oil was barrelled and transported from the wells to the refineries or railroads in wagons and then by rail to the seaboard. The system of transporting by pipe lines was introduced prior to 1872, but it was expensive and inefficient. The Standard interest systematized and enlarged the local system and continued the lines to the principal cities of the seaboard. Thousands of tanks were erected to hold the surplus production, and as much as 1,500,000,000 gallons of surplus oil have been stored in these tanks at one time. Pipe lines have been built to New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Buffalo, Pittsburg, Cleveland, and Chicago, and a network of feeding lines reaches from the wells to connect with the main lines. If these lines were laid continuously, they would encircle the globe. When the producer of oil puts down a well, he notifies the pipe-line company, and immediately a pipe line is laid to connect with his well. The oil is taken from the tank at the well, whenever requested, into the large storage tanks of the company, and is held for the owner as long as he desires it. A certificate is given for it, which can be turned into cash at any time; and when sold, it is delivered to the purchaser at any station on the delivery lines. A new oil-field was discovered last summer near Pittsburg, and in three months the production was 70,000 barrels per day. Yet pipe lines and storage tanks were built so rapidly that this enormous product was handled with scarcely any waste.

The lines to New York deliver to the refineries at Long Island City and Bayonne 1,250,000 gallons per day. This is manufactured into a great variety of products, the principal one being illuminating oil. Some of the illuminating oil is barrelled for local trade, some is shipped to other points in tank cars made for the purpose, some is placed in tin cans boxed in pine for the oriental markets; but the greater part is pumped directly from the refineries into steamers carrying oil in bulk, and thus shipped to European ports, there to be pumped into huge tanks for further distribution by tank cars and tank wagons. The capital invested in this system of pipe lines, tank cars, and tank steamers is more than $50,000,000. By this system oil can be placed at the seaboard and on tank steamers at less than the cost of a few miles of wagon transportation under the old system.

The importance of this method of transportation cannot be overestimated at the present time. In Russia wells pour forth petroleum in almost unlimited quantities, and its price at the well is less than five cents per barrel. Their system of refining and marketing is copied from ours. The capital employed is large, and Russia is striving for

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the markets of Europe and the East. They already dispose of 1,200,000,000 gallons of the crude product per annum. Were it not for our pipe-line system, our tank-steamer system, our cheap methods of refining and of manufacturing all necessary materials, we could not hold the export trade for a single year. This system could not have been built up without a combination of persons and capital.

The actual cost of refining has been reduced since 1872 about sixty-six per cent. This has been accomplished partly by the discovery and use of better processes and better machinery, partly by the elimination of the waste once incident to the business, and partly by the refiners' manufacturing for their own purposes and cheapening the cost of the materials used in manufacturing oils. Residuum was formerly used for fuel; now it is made into paraffine wax and lubricating oils. Naphtha was once little better than a waste product; now, as a component of gas, it lights the great cities of the land. Sulphuric acid is largely used in refining, and formerly cost $1.25 per hundred pounds; the Standard manufactures its own at a cost of eight cents per hundred pounds. In 1872 barrels cost the trade $2.35 each; the Standard manufactures them now at a cost of $1.25 each. As 3,500,000 barrels are used per annum, this item of saving amounts to $4,000,000 per year. Tin cans are now manufactured by the Standard at fifteen cents less per can than they cost in 1874. Thirty-six million cans are used per year, and this saving amounts to $5,400,000 annually. Thus I might speak of paint, glue, tanks, stills, pumps, and pipes.

Almost everything used in the oil business is manufactured by some of the corporations which were created for the particular purpose. While the price of oil has thus been lowered, competition has not been destroyed, but is vigorous and effective. Thousands of workmen and persons of small capital are sharing the profits of the business, the wages paid are above the average, and American petroleum is holding its place in foreign markets. Association was necessary to accomplish these results. It is necessary to accomplish any great business end. Wise legislation and wise judicial exposition will strive to lessen and eradicate any real evils resulting from association without destroying an instrumentality capable of such beneficial results. Even men not accustomed to clear thinking should be able to detect a difference between combinations designed to repress business and combinations for the purpose of carrying on business.

S. C. T. DODD.

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THE TRUE PURPOSE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION.

THE higher education: How are we to understand its significance? By what means shall we determine its extent? To whom ought it to be given? What should be our outlook respecting it in the near future—the new century which is just about to open upon us? As I venture to offer a few thoughts on this subject which has so much interest for all educated men, I desire to move along the line of these questions, and to answer them as I best may from the standpoint of my own thinking. If what I have to say shall commend itself to the thoughtful readers of the FORUM, I shall be glad to have said it, because of their kindly reception of the words.

I. The higher education, as I view it—and thus I would answer the first of the four questions—should have as its end and purpose the culture and development of the thinking mind. Its aim should be serious thought. These expressions, indeed—the thinking mind, and serious thought—set forth what lies at the basis of all education and what is essential to the true idea of education of every degree. The proper design of all education is and must be to build up and build out the mind. All other things which may be thought of are secondary to this.

Let us look at the subject through the use of an illustrative example, which we may take at a point very near to the beginning of the work. The youth who is moving towards the higher educated life opens one of the gateways to it by undertaking the study of a foreign or ancient language. As he takes his first book into his hand, he tries to determine for himself, we will suppose, the meaning of certain words which form some sentence and the relations of these words to one another. This is the step which carries him just within the opening gate. What is its significance? Surely it is not that, in his feeble way, he is making a beginning for himself in the matter of the accurate observation of the framework of sentences, or of the acquisition of the knowledge of rules as a mere thing of memory. Rules must be learned, indeed, and the framework must be noticed and un-

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derstood. There is no real education in this particular sphere apart from the attainment of such knowledge.

But this is not the end which the worker is to have before his mind, nor is the significance of what he is doing to be found herein. He knows, if he is an intelligent worker—or if he is too young for this knowledge as coming from his own mind, he must be led to it by an intelligent teacher—that the rules are to be observed only for the sake of what is beyond them. He knows, or must be taught, that what renders the sentence worthy of study is the thought which it carries in itself, and that it is only as the understanding of the rules makes the search for this more safe in itself, and more certain in its results, that these become worthy of attention. When the seeker knows the thought in its exactness, he has secured the reward. The significance of his act is discovered, not in the motions through which he is putting himself or the helps which he is using to accomplish his purpose, but in that which he is moving after. The sentence, which as a beginner he studies and wrestles with, is a little thing in itself. Its words and forms are of small importance when valued for their own sake. But a secret is to be found within them, and it is worth enough to repay all the effort.

Thus it is with every slow and individual step which the young learner takes. A thought is to be found here, and there, and everywhere, and he is to search for it. The same is true ever afterwards. The educated man is like the educated youth, only he is farther on in the way—with wider vision, with more thoroughly trained powers, with larger attainments, with a capacity always expanding for the reception of new thoughts as they are offered on every side. The experience and life of the one and the other are essentially alike. We seek after thoughts as we read, and find in them truth and quickening. We make them our own, and thus add to our treasure.

Reading and language, however, are not peculiar in this regard. As with them, so with all things else which we study, and so also wherever the gateway of educated, cultured life opens itself. View the beginning again. We set before the learner some problem in figures more or less intricate, or some minor task in literature, that he may criticise and justly form his estimate; or some rudimentary work in art, that he may get the earliest vision of what is fitting and beautiful. The setting of the task means more than the task itself. In itself, the task has no worthy meaning. It must point to something higher. It must, in its measure, stir and help the mind. So also with

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every step of the progress afterwards. The particular effort or the particular problem of the later years loses itself in the idea which is central to it, or in that to which it opens the way. The significance, as well as the blessing, pertaining to each effort and work is that it gives some thought kindred to itself, or belonging to its own sphere, which may become as a seed of living force. It may be, perchance, the least of all seeds; but the glory of it is that, by reason of its living force, it may become, when it is grown, as a tree in whose branches thoughts out of the very heavens may ever and continuously find pleasant lodgement.

And beyond this, the value of all the working, as well as all the seeking after and finding thought, is found in the fact that it tends, as by the necessity of nature, to the development of the power of thought in the educated man himself. The thoughts which he receives stir the thought-forces of the soul, and the man becomes, in the true sense of the words, a thoughtful man. He may not be a philosopher, or a poet, or a statesman, or a scholar; but as educated, and because he is educated, he is thoughtful—rich in his resources for himself and for others. This is what the higher education means, and it has no truest and deepest meaning apart from this. This developed power of serious thought is the essence of educated life. It is the fountain of living water within the mind, which is for every educated man the blessing of such life. To have rich thoughts, serious thoughts—in the sense of calm, serene, earnest, intelligent, cultured, generous, manly thinking on any and all themes which are worthy of human thought —what blessing for the mind can be greater, or can contain in itself more truly the secret of the best living? Everything good to think about, and the cultivated power to think about everything good—for this we are educated with the higher education. Being thus gifted by the education which we receive, we overflow and outflow, as it were, because of the life within us, to all whom we see and know. Being full in ourselves, we give fulness to others.

II. I come here to my second starting-point of suggestion, which I find again in connection with the answers to the questions asked at the beginning. The thinking mind should be fitted to think widely. The broad education is the one of highest worth. This is a truth which is beginning to be lost sight of by many of our American people, and by some, I fear, even among our leaders in education and in influence. The popular mind is affected, and not unnaturally so, by

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the marvellous development of wealth and of all things in the material line. Life is everywhere moving towards material growth. The thought easily follows: education is good only for its uses. Why educate the man along the line on which he is not to move? The practical age is the fruit and result of all the ages. We want the practical man for the practical age. Be educated for one thing only, and that one thing the outward work.

The answer to all this urgent discoursing and reasoning is to be found in the simple words "the thinking mind"—"serious thought" upon matters of art, science, history, literature—upon all matters which may easily offer themselves to the thinking of educated minds. Education is, first of all, for the sphere within the man, and not for the sphere without him. The work for the outward, which is to accomplish its results for the well-being and up-building of the world, is to be the outcome of the energies within. The suggestion of the words thus made a part of our answer is twofold. It is first of breadth, and secondly of the inward. We do not limit ourselves to the practical side of life when we turn our minds to serious thoughts upon literature and art. We do not confine ourselves within narrow bounds when we think not only of what lies in the sphere of these, but of science also. The education which is thus set before us is one that is all-sided, not one-sided. It opens the mind to the true, the beautiful, and the good everywhere. Our discourse at the present time is of the higher education. The thought of those who must, by the necessities of their life, be hemmed in to a single line of mental action is now remote from us. Necessity knows no law, and it may be that they cannot escape. But the higher education is for those who can be educated according to the true significance of the word. To bind them is to limit the mind's freedom and largeness and to deprive it of the privilege of its birthright.

We might lay aside all arguments in the matter, and appeal here to personal experience. What member of any educated circle, what worthy graduate of any of the higher schools of learning, is there to be found who, if he has lived according to the true spirit and in the full rights of his education, does not know himself to be larger and freer to-day than he was years ago—in some measure larger and freer than he was even a year ago? What one is there who is not conscious that in the same proportion as he lets his influence as an educated man go forth upon those about him, it is a wider, richer, more uplifting influence, reaching more persons because of the broadness of the

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sphere of his personal thinking, and blessing with greater blessing those whom it reaches? That there are many members of educated circles or many graduates of the schools who have no such testimony to give, is true beyond all question. But testimony comes from experience, and we speak not of the half-way workers or those who make their education a half-way thing. The witness-bearers are, and can be, only those who live, as we have said, according to the true spirit, and in the exercise of the full rights, of the education which they have enjoyed. These witness-bearers have but one voice.

But the argument, if we ask for it, is as good as are the experience and the testimony. The mind, if considered in itself, is made with all powers, not with one power. To limit it to the exercise of one power, or to but half of the whole, is as truly the part of unreason as to do the same thing for the body. The healthy growth is of all the parts together—each according to its own measure. The one gift, adapting the man to one line of living and working, may become the leading gift in life. But this may not exclude the reasonable development of other gifts. We may know literature and art and history and science, not fully, all of them, and equally well; but on that highest principle of educated life, "everything of something and something of everything," we may give our serious thought to what each and all offer to us. The forces of the mind moving with one leader, yet all moving, is the true philosophy of life.

Moreover, as to influence and results: Who knows that results are greater when the man understands only one thing and thinks of only one? The results that are seen may, perchance, be greater; though this, as relating to all cases, will need proving. But those that are unseen—who can tell of them? And the unseen results are often, if not always, the greatest and most important. In the unseen region is influence. It is itself, in the largest working and measure of it, the most unseen of all things. But what influence is, and from the nature of influence will ever be, so wide-reaching as that of a rich mind and soul which are filled out by education on every side to their fulness of culture and beauty? We see only a little distance; but we know something of the power of mind and soul extending beyond the little distance, and beyond the greater distance also, and making life and light and love far off in other men. The influence of the doer may be seen, while the influence of the thinker may be unseen. But if so, it is only for the moment or the present. The thinker of the last generation has his fruit in this generation. And this is true, not only of

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the great thinkers of the age, but of every man of serious thought who thinks widely and passes to his children and his friends the energizing force of his own life.

His own life—it is here that we turn inward. The end of our being is not, first of all things, that we should be money-making machines, or agencies for charitable work, or promoters of physical comfort in society, or furtherers of what is ordinarily called the prosperity of the country. All these things may be included within our living, and may form, some of them at least, a noble part of it. But *we are ourselves behind and beneath all these things;* and if, in that more hidden region beneath and behind the outward work, *we are nothing*—both we and the work are insignificant.

I know of few thoughts that are more impressive to me, as I reflect upon human life, than the thought of the differences existing, in this hidden region, among the men whom I chance to see together in some one place. I sit in a railway car, or in a public assembly, and turn my eyes upon the company around me. They all seem for the time to have a common aim and purpose. They are moving together, or listening to the same words. But how widely apart they are in the deeper recesses of the mind! The words spoken fall upon the ear of one of the hearers, and they are as seed upon the rocky soil, or they bear with them suggestions only which are nearest to their literal meaning. But for another they open new thoughts; they unite themselves with the memories of earlier thinking; they call up the results of studies in other days and other lines; they find richness in the mind everywhere to work upon; they rouse the man to joyful life. So of the landscape, or the sunset brightness, which the traveller sees. It has no lesson in itself for the closed or unthinking mind, to which life suggests nothing but the daily business. But for the open mind, educated for suggestion and beauty and the secret influences of nature, what may not even the passing vision of an hour have in itself of good!

How true it is that two persons may live together in the same household or circle of friendship, without gaining for themselves the same measures of life in its best and deepest sense. A score of thoughts may come to the one where scarcely a single thought comes to the other. Life thus becomes for the one many times larger. It takes hold upon many things on every side, and makes them all fruitful for itself. This is the reason why we may well desire, not material things first of all, but education; not education in its beginnings and

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its narrow development, but in its fulness as it opens avenues everywhither; not literature, or art, or science, or history only, but literature, and art, and science, and history, as these may be possessed by the cultured man. We may well desire to be within ourselves all that we can be, for just in the measure in which we reach this roundness and fulness of the inner life we shall be more nearly attaining to the completeness of our manhood.

As we think of the matter thus, how do the words which are often heard of the demands of the practical age and of the necessity for the life now upon us, that men should let all their preparation move in a single line, sink into their own unworthiness. The common worker in a factory may, from the unfortunate limitations and impositions of his sphere of living, be obliged, for the general good, to think and labor only upon one small piece of the great workmanship. But the worker in the great workshop to which the higher education opens the door may think of and know what is beyond his special sphere, and he must do so for the general good, because, in the higher region where he dwells, it is not mere *workers*, but MEN, whom the world needs for its well-being.

III. Thus I reach the third starting-point of suggestion, which I discover, once more, in the answer to the chief question, from the asking of which I have moved forward. The higher education should be given to the daughters and the sons alike. The foundation of the claim for woman's education—the argument for it which carries *irresistible* force—is to be found in the region of the thoughts which I have just presented. So long as education is conceived of as valuable merely for its uses, or as desirable simply as fitting a person for his individual and peculiar work, the higher education of women may find many to oppose it with objections, which may have, perchance, seeming reasonableness. Why should a woman pursue the courses of higher education which a man pursues? Her sphere, in most cases, must necessarily be different from his. Let her be educated for her own sphere. But if education is for the growth of the human mind—the personal human mind—and if the glory of it is in the up-building and out-building of the mind, the womanly mind is just as important, just as beautiful, just as much a divine creation with wide-reaching possibilities as is the manly mind. When we have in our vision serious thought as the working-force and end of education, the woman makes the same claim with the man, and her claim rests, at its deepest

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foundation, upon the same grand idea. Let the idea be what it should be—what, according to the reality of things, it is—and the conclusion irresistibly follows.

The woman's life is the home life, it is said. Be it so, for there is a blessing for the world in the fact. But the home life, as truly as the world's life, is the sphere for serious thought and broad culture. It is the lowest idea of home—viewed from the intellectual standpoint—that it is a place for comfort and not for thinking. Where is the child's first impulse for the working of his mental powers to be gained but in that consecrated spot? Where is continual incentive to be found in youth and manhood so happily and fully as there? Not incentive to the special daily work assigned to us in the world, perchance, but to that thinking which is the essence of our life as educated men. This incentive comes to thoughtful men from thoughtful women, and in the true ideal home it must be present. To look upon the home as a spot to which one may retire from the weariness of thinking to the rest of nothingness is to make it unworthy of us as reasonable and intellectual beings. We ought to have more of life-giving thought there than anywhere. The culture which springs from such thought should be its most blessed gift to our minds.

The old notion which men had on this whole matter, in the years just before and just after the older part of the present generation began their career, was that women should be shut out from all the professions and most of the employments of the world. For the woman to whom the privileges of the higher education might naturally offer themselves by reason of the circumstances of life and family, it was often deemed hardly befitting her station even to enter the profession of a teacher. The doors were closed, as far as possible, on every side. But the world has moved since those days, and as it has moved a change has come—a great change, yet not one that has reached its completeness. The sphere for womanly effort has enlarged. The barriers in the way of entrance into business or professional life have begun to be removed. The necessities of self-support for many women who are not centres of home life, and cared for as such, have become more fully understood and appreciated. The former prejudices, many of them, have gradually died away, and institutions for education which are intended to supply the need have come into being. There has been a great transformation, indeed. There has been great progress also. But we still ask to-day—many of us who claim to be intelligent thinkers on these subjects—why

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should the woman be educated beyond what we call her sphere? We have not as yet, if we say this, reached and rested upon the foundation idea of education. Education is for the purpose of developing and cultivating the thinking-power. It is to the end of making a knowing, thinking mind. The higher education is for the realization of broad knowledge and wide thinking. When we know this, we know that the sister in a household should be educated as her brother is educated; that the mother should have the power, by reason of her own serious thought on literature, history, art, the varied good things of life, to guide and train the thought-power of her children; that the wife should be in intellectual oneness with her husband, ever stimulating and inspiring him by her thinking, and never giving him opportunity to depreciate, or seem to depreciate, her mental capacity in comparison with his own. It is too late in the world's history to think that a woman's mind is not of as much consequence as a man's mind, or that, whatever may be her peculiar sphere, she is not to be richly, broadly, and, if we may use the word, thoughtfully educated, as well as he.

IV. For my fourth and last starting-point of suggestion, I take my final look backward to the beginning. The thought of the new century—the almost immediate future—seems to carry the mind forward to the realization of what is before us. We may think of ourselves as passing within the boundary of the coming era, and may find in its teachings and its hopes somewhat, at least, that may pertain to ourselves. The influence thus coming to us should be good.

Let me here offer two or three suggestions. The first is that the opening years of the new century—the first quarter or third of the century which many of those now on the stage of action may know within the limits of their life-time—will, as I think, carry forward this thought of the higher education towards general appreciation and acceptance, in a measure far beyond what is realized at present. The time is not far distant, we may believe, when a new change will have come over us as a people, and we shall have entered upon a new stage of our progress. We have, in the older sections of the country, already passed altogether beyond what we may call the pioneer era. We are now passing through the era of the accumulation of wealth and material powers and gifts. Within the past thirty years, since the outbreaking of the Civil War, the national life has been transformed, as we may say, from that of a quiet village of the times of the

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fathers to that of a great metropolitan city. Wealth, and art, and architecture, and invention, and discovery in science, and the means of learning and education, have been developed almost beyond the dreams of the middle point of the century. The possibilities for the growth of wealth have opened wonderfully, and the possibilities for the attainment of the good things which wealth secures have presented a constant and powerful incentive to take these things into personal possession. The mind and energy of the people have, accordingly, been given to the accumulation of property in an extraordinary degree. We have been gathering in our wealth for the future, as the man in his manhood does to the end of enjoying the reward of the later resting years. It is for this reason partly, if not wholly—even as has been already intimated—that the idea of education as having its end in its uses only has gained such a strong hold upon the popular mind. We have given ourselves to the accumulating of wealth, as our fathers gave their efforts to the opening of the land and its opportunities, in order that the way to wealth might be made ready and straight. But the two earlier stages are preparatory to a third. The characteristic of the coming era is not to be found in the making, but rather in the fact that what was once making is already made. We are to be beyond the introductory period, and in the realization of what has been accomplished. We are to be, in some fitting use of the term, a developed, and not simply a developing people.

With this change, which it can scarcely be questioned is before us, there will naturally come to the best thought of the nation—and, more and more, even to the popular thought—the true estimate of education and of the higher education: that it is for the growth, the broad and rich growth, of the mind's powers, and not merely for the acquisition of the material good which may be realized from it; that it is a glory of life in itself, and not alone in what are called its uses; that it is a blessing to be desired with all earnestness of desire by every man who can secure it for himself. The twentieth century is to be more than the nineteenth. It is, we may hope, to bring with itself the full apprehension of the manhood of the individual man in all the possibilities of his thought and culture, for which the nineteenth century has been preparing by its partial work and through its developments on many sides.

But if this is to be so, a second thought which moves close beside it is that of the influence which this near future should send back to all who belong to the educated families of the closing years of the

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present century. What should be their thought for their children, who are to be the mature men of the next generation? Should it not be the thought of the higher education as involving in itself, not special preparation for special work in life only, but wide culture and knowledge of all ennobling things? The lesson of the coming years is, I am sure, a lesson full of significance. It is a lesson which we are in danger of passing by unheeded, in the rush and pressure of material interests, but one which has infinite meaning for the highest welfare of our children's lives. If we take it to ourselves, the future for them will be full of richest and sweetest light. But if we fail, the inheritance of the ages in the bright coming age will be lost.

And so the lesson, in all this matter, comes to educated men not only for themselves, but for their households. Their homes, if they are what they ought to be, must give, first of all things, their teachings to those who are within them, and especially the children. And we may well remember that these teachings are not limited to spoken words. They are in the very atmosphere of the home which the child breathes and from which he draws his mental and moral life. The education which is gained in a school lecture-room may, with some show of reason, be said to come from the talking of the teacher; though, when we think carefully on the subject, we find that there is more than this even here.

But the children of a household do not grow into their maturity of character and education after this manner. The child does not become intelligent or studious because his father tells him, solemnly and earnestly it may be, that it is a matter of the highest importance to his later years that he should be so; but because he knows, by reason of his daily living in his father's presence, that the father is himself studious and intellectual and that he values the blessing for his own life, which is thus realized, as a priceless blessing. It is what the parents are, and what they say because of what they are—what they say, therefore, not of set purpose or by way of exhortation, but spontaneously, and as the bird sings, for the simple reason that, in the joy of its being, it cannot help singing—it is this which becomes the creative power for the children's lives. The child may have his mind stirred with desire for what education may open to him, and may be set forward in intellectual enthusiasm, long before he sees a school; and it should be so. The earliest years have the far-distant promise in themselves. They may well determine the long future.

That serious thought upon literature, history, art, and science—upon all the great matters which tend to culture and refinement—has as its

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result the atmosphere of the home, is one of the chief reasons for it. It does for the household what it does for the individual within himself, and thus gives forth a twofold blessing. But if it has this gift in itself, it is needful for all alike. Surely it must be divinely intended for the woman as well as the man; for the atmosphere of the home which is to be created is the atmosphere of her peculiar sphere. So truly and impressively does the demand for the higher education—as soon as we understand its legitimate idea and meaning—utter its voice on behalf of woman, and call for the opening to her of pure and elevated thoughts in all spheres. The home is behind the schools, and she is the teacher in the home for the older as well as for the younger.

But the thought which I would urge especially is this: that the son or daughter *is made in the intellectual sense*—or should be made—before the home life is left. If it be not so, the schools, whether lower or higher, can accomplish only a part of their work. They are compelled to begin where the teaching and influence of the home come to their end; and they must oftentimes end their efforts leaving the youth half completed in this regard, as compared with what he might have been, because of the failure in the golden hours of the early morning. The twentieth century must bring the realization of this work and fruit of the home life if it is to be what we hope for it and of it. If the stimulating, inspiring force of what it shall realize may find its way into our individual lives and homes during these few years in which we are yet waiting for its coming, we may partake of the good fruits for ourselves, and send forth into the future those who follow closely after us, fitted for the larger and more joyous educated life which will open before them.

For the schools also, I think, the on-coming of the twentieth century may and must have its measure of influence. The old education was not too broad; it was too mechanical. The present education is somewhat less mechanical, but the danger besetting it is that it may become too narrow. The era of thought and of wide thought is that which we must hope for. The story of the German scholar amuses us —who, as the end of life was close upon him, expressed his deep regret that he had not, through all the years, concentrated his mind exclusively upon the consideration of the dative case. The dative case seems too small a matter for a life-time. So we say to ourselves; and well we may, if we think of it as we are disposed to think. Life is not worth living if confined to so narrow a path as that. But this word of condemnation which comes from the lawyer who has studied nothing but

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law, or the chemist who thinks only and knows only of chemistry, has its origin oftentimes in a kindred narrowness in his own living. The education which gives either of these men nothing more, or but little more, than such knowledge as pertains to his own particular sphere is as truly partial as that of the German scholar whose folly seems to both of them so great.

But the German scholar's idea—at least as we often picture him to ourselves—was a mistaken and wrong idea. It was of the dative case as a thing in itself, a matter of grammar apart from language and from thought. Looking upon it thus, we say it was scarcely worthy of a man, because the thinking and the whole aim and purpose were only mechanical. The rules became to him everything; the thing for which the rules were made—the life of language which they represented—seemed as if nothing. Too much of this was in the teaching and the schools which some of us knew in the early days.

But if we view this scholar according to the possibility of his thinking, and as perhaps we justly ought to view him, what a different aspect does he present to us. The dative case—simple and single a thing as it is—has its delicate, and interesting, and wide-reaching relations to thought. It is one element in language, which is the medium of expressing thought on every subject. Its study may thus unite itself to the study of books of many sorts and may penetrate the thoughts of authors on many themes.

If the scholar moves along the pathway of study into its nature and significance, keeping his eye open to see the paths which cross it and lead everywhither, his thoughts grow more wide-reaching, as of necessity, the longer he studies; and though his own path may be a narrow one, he is no narrow man. So will it be with all things for the genuine scholar of the best type. The little matters and the great matters will alike have a possibility of wide outlook for his mind—only the outlook may be wider as the matters with which he deals are greater. There is nothing narrow and insignificant in education when it stands forth before us in its proper aspect. It is broadening, elevating, ennobling for the intellectual life always, if it is its ideal self. But as it thus elevates and broadens the man, it rises into the sphere of the spirit and above that of the letter; it subordinates and passes beyond the mechanical element pertaining to it, and makes thought and thinking-power the end of its effort, the atmosphere of its life.

Such, as we may hope and believe, is the education which the schools in the coming century will bring to those whose privilege it shall be to

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be trained under their higher influences. The failings and weaknesses of the old systems will be laid aside. The wrong workings and false ideas of our time and the time behind us will be put away, and a completeness will be given to that which has hitherto been partial and incomplete. The era will be for the schools, as well as for the household and the individual, an era of wide culture, in which *the higher education will be valued for what it gives the man of thinking power and range of mental life.* The divine truth will be realized: the man, not for rules, not for uses, not for the mere outgoing of energy towards the world, but for the mind and for thought, to which all these things will render their service and in which will be blessing alike for the individual and for the race.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT.

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ADVANTAGES OF THE CANADIAN BANK SYSTEM.

THE chartered banks of the Dominion of Canada were incorporated under an act assented to on May 16, 1890, which came into force July 1, 1891. To assist in framing this act, representatives from every bank were invited to Ottawa by the Minister of Finance, and the suggestions and remonstrances of these delegates were for the most part adopted or heeded. Under the act, the charters of the banks in existence at the time (May 16, 1890), and of any banks subsequently incorporated under its provisions, were extended to July 1, 1901. The capital of any bank thereafter incorporated was fixed at a minimum of $500,000, its shares to be $100 each; before commencing business, $250,000 in cash must be paid to the Minister of Finance within one year of incorporation. Provision was made also for the payment to the Minister of Finance of the sum of $5,000 as the first contribution of a bank to a bank-note redemption fund. Shareholders have the authority to fix within certain limits the number, qualification, and remuneration of directors, and the amount of loans and discounts which may be afforded them or other persons and companies. In the event of insolvency, each shareholder is liable for the debts of the bank to an amount equal to the par value of shares held by him in addition to any amount not paid on such shares.

Authority was given for the establishment of guarantee and pension funds for the officers and employees and their families, contributions to the funds to be authorized by shareholders. This is a new feature in banking legislation, and already advantage has been taken of it. Heretofore a special act of Parliament was needed by every bank desiring to afford itself and its officers the advantages sure to accrue from the application of a mutual system of guarantee and the personal responsibility of each employee for the good behavior and efficiency of his fellow-employees. Pension funds will tend to solidarity on the part of employees and serve as an inducement to long service. Directors are elected annually. Their stock qualification is fixed at a minimum of $3,000 to $5,000, dependent upon the amount of the capital of the bank, but the qualification may be in-

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creased by by-law approved by the shareholders. To prevent the abuse of the proxy system, proxies must have been executed within two years of the time they are availed of. This provision is unnecessarily severe. At the same time, directors are none the worse for being frequently brought in touch with their constituents.

The capital of a bank may be increased from time to time subject to the approval of the Treasury Board (a committee of members of the government); the additional capital carries with it the same privileges as to note issues as did the original capital. The new shares must be allotted *pro rata* among existing shareholders. The capital stock may be reduced by resolution of shareholders, but not below $250,000, and then only with the consent of the Treasury Board. Shareholders before being permitted to transfer their stock may be compelled to liquidate any liability or debt to the bank which exceeds the value of their remaining shares. This lien of a bank upon its own shares can be abused; but, on the other hand, its existence has been found most beneficial in restraining the exercise by shareholders, possibly by directors, of the influence pertaining to their holdings in the creation of liabilities to the bank. Purchasing, dealing in, or lending money upon the security or pledge of its own stock or of the stock of any bank is, however, strictly forbidden under penalty. "Short sales" of bank shares, at one time in Canada a very popular gambling operation, have been practically eradicated by a section of the act which provides that only the registered owner of shares may sell or contract to sell the same. The penalty for any contravention is fine or imprisonment. Executors and trustees, where the nature of trust is expressed, are not personally liable as shareholders for double liability upon shares standing in their names, but the estate and funds in their hands shall be liable.

An effort was made to establish the principle of fixed cash reserves. The banks were almost a unit against any hard and fast regulation, pointing with convincing force to the evil effect of such regulations upon the money market of the United States, and to the fact that the United States Treasury had during every financial crisis been called upon to come to the assistance of the money market by premature retirement of government bonds and the deposit of their proceeds with the national banks. It was argued, moreover, that there have been in the United States frequent departures from the fixed reserve regulations, and that if similar regulations had existed in Canada, instead of temporal financial embarrassment ending in gradual liquidation, the coun-

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try would have been brought face to face, more than once, with crises which would have worked terrible havoc among its mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural interests. The fixed cash reserve principle was abandoned, leaving, however, the regulation compelling banks to hold at least forty per cent, and as nearly as possible fifty per cent, of their cash reserves in Dominion notes—legal tender.

The three features aimed at in the Bank Act are safety, convertibility, elasticity—all without monopoly. I take them up in order:

I. Safety. Under the act of 1880 the bank-note issue of each bank was limited to the amount of unimpaired paid-up capital, and became in case of insolvency a first charge upon the assets of the institution, and, if necessary, upon the double liability of shareholders. During the whole term of the act, six banks, with a paid-up capital of nearly $3,000,000, had failed or gone into liquidation. Every dollar of circulation had been paid or provided for in cash. With such a record, there could not be any grave excuse for questioning the safety of the Canadian bank-note; but, so as to provide for contingencies, it was considered advisable to strengthen still further the basis of security. This was done by providing for the establishment of a "bank circulation redemption fund," the amount contributed by each bank to be adjusted from time to time, and to be in all five per cent of the average circulation of such bank for the previous twelve months, two and one-half per cent to be paid before July 15, 1891, the remaining two and one-half per cent to be paid before July 15, 1892. This fund on the latter date will amount to $1,600,000 on an average circulation (estimated) of $32,000,000, and will of course vary somewhat from year to year. The fund will be held by the Finance Department to the credit of the banks contributing thereto, and will bear interest at three per cent per annum. In case of suspension of any bank and of its failure within two months of such suspension to arrange for payment of outstanding notes and all interest thereon, the fund is available for payment of that liability. Interest will run on the notes of a suspended bank, without presentation for payment, at six per cent per annum, from the date of suspension to such date as is named for payment thereof. The fund, if not replenished by the suspended bank, shall be made up proportionately by contributions from other banks, on demand of the Finance Department, but "such other banks shall only be called upon to make good to the said fund its share in payments not exceeding in any one year one per cent of the average amount of its notes in circulation."

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The holder of a Canadian bank-note has therefore as his security: (*a*) a first lien upon all the assets of the bank itself; (*b*) a first lien upon the double liability of the shareholders of the bank; (*c*) the "bank-note circulation fund" of, say, $1,600,000; (*d*) the absolute guarantee of every other bank in Canada (subject to maximum assessment during any one year not exceeding one per cent of its average circulation). To reduce the system to figures on the basis of the condition of the banks on January 31, 1891, the circulation at the time, which amounted to $32,705,400, was secured by—

Assets amounting to (including fund)	$275,956,236
Double liability of shareholders	62,717,432
Total	$338,673,668

It may be said that the existence of such security will be an inducement to reckless banking or may lead to over-issues during time of panic or even stringency. To provide for this contingency, heavy penalties, running from $100,000 if over-issue exceeds $200,000, to $1,000 if over-issue is over $1,000 and does not exceed $20,000 (100 per cent of the amount if excess is less than $1,000), are incurred by the issuing bank for such over-issue. The pledging of issues is punished by fine and imprisonment of both pledger and pledgee.

II. Convertibility. Section 55 of the act reads as follows:

"The bank shall make such arrangements as are necessary to insure the circulation at par in any and every part of Canada of all notes issued or reissued by it and intended for circulation; and towards this purpose the bank shall establish agencies for the redemption and payment of its notes at the cities of Halifax, St. John, Charlottetown, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Victoria, and at such other places as are from time to time designated by the Treasury Board."

The effect of this enactment is that to-day the notes issued by the Bank of Nova Scotia in Halifax are accepted without discount in British Columbia, and the notes of the Bank of British Columbia pass current in the eastern maritime provinces. Heretofore, the note-holder travelling from province to province was compelled to exercise the same discrimination in filling his wallet and in accepting change as in the United States in the old days of State-bank issues.

III. Elasticity. The normal expansion of bank-note circulation during the harvest months commencing with September has been about $7,000,000, equal to an increase of about twenty-three per cent over the normal circulation of the midsummer months. It was to provide for this heavy and impetuous drain upon the resources of the country that many people otherwise in favor of a government issue or

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of an issue secured by deposit of government securities found no difficulty in advocating the continuance of the bank issues. The elasticity of the issues, in Canada at least, is indispensable to the easy and automatic exchange of products for money, and so successfully has the system worked that during the movement of crops in the autumn of 1891, with calls from all parts of the Dominion for money and more money, the Canadian banks were not only able to supply all legitimate demands without advancing the rate of interest by a fraction of one per cent, but were also able to increase the net foreign balances to their credit in Great Britain and the United States from $19,000,000 in August to $23,000,000 in December, and, in addition, to lend very large amounts to the grain-dealers of Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, and other Western grain centres. The president of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, in his last annual address, could not refrain from drawing attention to this feature of the system, saying:

"Amongst the privileges of the trade may be mentioned our admirable banking system, which perhaps cannot be excelled anywhere. Our early legislators were very wise and sagacious when they provided for the contraction and expansion of the circulating medium of the country. . . . Were this feature of the banking system wanting in such a season as this, money would not only be scarce, but the rate of interest would be much higher than it now is; and if with but twenty-five million to thirty million bushels of wheat to move, what would the state of things be when . . . one hundred million to one hundred and fifty million bushels must be taken care of? . . . It has been stated that upwards of $3,000,000 has been borrowed from Canadian financial institutions this season by grain-dealing firms in Minnesota and Dakota to assist in moving their large crops. We have every reason to feel proud of the monetary institutions of Canada, exercising as they do such a powerful influence in the material advancement of the country."

The saving of capital under the Canadian system is not confined to the amount of notes in circulation. To that amount must be added the "till money," which, in a country of such vast expanse served by upwards of 450 bank branches, may be safely estimated at $15,000,000. This amount is supplied by bank-notes which can be held indefinitely, awaiting the demand of the depositor or borrower without loss of interest or expense to the bank or to its customer.

Beyond the general authority to "carry on such business as appertains to the business of banking," including the advancing on bills of lading and warehouse receipts, special authority is given to lend to manufacturers upon the security of goods manufactured or procured for such purpose, to lend to the purchaser or shipper of products of the field, forest, mine, and waters, and upon live stock and dead stock

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and products thereof. Every encouragement, therefore, is extended to those engaged in legitimate business. They can reasonably count upon receiving financial assistance if satisfactory security is forthcoming. Assistance may be given under these powers to dealers in cattle and agricultural products of all kinds, to sawmillers, lumbermen, and others. The form of pledge is short, and the transaction itself does not require public or, in fact, any registration. Although the taking of mortgages and *hypothèques* upon real and personal property by way of additional security is permitted, the lending of money upon the security of mortgage or hypothecation of any land, tenements, or immovable property is forbidden. To meet the necessities of the shipbuilding community in Quebec and the maritime provinces, the right of acquiring and holding security upon ships or vessels whilst building and when completed is recognized, and the same rights as are enjoyed by individuals under the laws of the province in which such ship or vessel is being built are extended to banks.

After perusal of the foregoing, it will no doubt be apparent to the reader that in order to avail itself of the full benefit of its powers to issue currency and of the facilities afforded for making advances, the inducements to extend the operations of the bank beyond the limits of its headquarters would constantly present itself, and we find that, distant as is the Atlantic from the Pacific in these latitudes, branches are found in Halifax, N. S., and Victoria, B. C., of banks having their headquarters in Montreal. Edmonton, in the far northwest, two hundred and fifty miles from Calgary, is accommodated by the branch of a bank having its headquarters in Toronto, and has the same banking facilities and conveniences as if one of the suburbs of Toronto. Nelson, in the very heart of the Selkirks, is served by branches from two banks. But for the branch system the Canadian Northwest could not possibly in so short a period have reached its present state of development; the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway could not have been so speedily completed. The wholesale merchants of Winnipeg are paying no higher interest charges than the merchant princes of Montreal. The Northwest settler can borrow upon the security of his grain in store upon as favorable terms as the Ontario farmer. Compare the hardships endured by the Dakota settler if he have the misfortune to require a temporary loan, the one, two, if not three per cent per month that he is compelled to pay as interest if not discount, with the comfort enjoyed by his brother in Manitoba, who can, warehouse receipt in hand, approach his banker with ease and satis-

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faction, knowing that the needful amount may be obtained at a moderate rate of interest. Will not the banking facilities of the Canadian Northwest of themselves commend that district to the intending settler as preferable in other respects to equally attractive land to the south?

In addition to an elaborate return of the assets and liabilities of the bank to be furnished monthly, as on the last day of each month, banks are required to send in annually a list of shareholders. The government may also call for special returns from any bank whenever "they are necessary to afford a full and complete knowledge of its condition." In addition to the foregoing, the bank shall "annually make a return of all dividends which have remained unpaid for more than five years, and also of all amounts and balances in respect to which no transactions have taken place or upon which no interest has been paid for more than five years." Beyond obtaining information called for by the above, it was the intention of the government to compel the payment over to it of all balances and amounts included therein. A united front was presented by the combined banks against the proposition, which, if carried into effect, would be the means of placing depositors in banks at a disadvantage with those in the government and post-office savings banks and in the loan and trust companies, by transferring to the custody of the government amounts which had been voluntarily lodged with the banks. The discussion in the House of Commons on this clause was sharp and acrimonious, ending in a threat from the Minister of Finance that continued opposition to the clause as it now stands, minus the "confiscation," would end in the postponement of all banking legislation. The severity of the enactment, even as it now stands, may be measured by the fact that the government declines to render a similar return regarding balances in the post-office and other government savings banks, which are to-day the strongest competitors of the chartered banks for the deposits of the people—the total of post-office savings bank deposits having grown from $856,814 in 1869 to $3,105,190 in 1879, and to $21,636,613 on December 31, 1891, in addition to which respectable sum $17,014,243 stood, on the latter date, to the credit of depositors in other government savings banks. These figures are a refutation of many of the slanders circulated by the enemies of Canada concerning her progress since the confederation of the provinces.[1]

[1] The deposits of the people in chartered banks increased during the same period from $47,576,046 to $152,807,542.

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Suspension for ninety days constitutes insolvency and operates as a forfeiture of charter. Regulations exist for the enforcement and collection of the double liability of shareholders. Transferers of shares within sixty days of suspension are held liable if actual shareholders fail to meet calls. And

"as a condition of the rights and privileges conferred by this act, or by any act in amendment thereof, the following provision shall have effect: The liability of the bank under any law, custom, or agreement to repay moneys deposited with it and interest (if any), and to pay dividends declared and payable on its capital stock, shall continue, notwithstanding any statute of limitations or any enactment or law relating to prescription. This section applies to moneys heretofore or hereafter deposited and the dividends heretofore or hereafter declared."

Although no instance is on record in Canada of any statute of limitations having been pleaded by a bank in defence to an action brought by a depositor, the above enactment was intended to cover the case of banks insolvent or in liquidation, and to prevent the confiscation by creditors or shareholders thereof of unclaimed credit balances. Another clause provides for the payment of such amounts in case of insolvency or liquidation to the government of the Dominion after a reasonable period subsequent thereto.

I have attempted in the foregoing to give a succinct account of the act and of the system under which banking is carried on in Canada, making little or no reference to matters of no moment to the outside world, but dwelling upon the provisions in the act which make the system unique and peculiarly adapted to the requirements of the country. I doubt if the system will be permanent, although confident that with fair play it will last far into the twentieth century. With any very sudden growth in population or commercial development, the dangers of an abuse of the privileges conferred by the act will be intensified. Advantage may be taken of the existence of the bank circulation redemption fund; one institution may fatally exceed its authorized issue; another may, through the very size of its authorized issue, involve its smaller rivals in heavy responsibilities; rank dishonesty on the part of directors and officers might destroy the confi dence of one bank in another to an extent fatal to the continuance of the mutual guaranty. The suggestion of any change will, however, come from the banks themselves, and not from the public, whose interests are now more than amply protected. If the note-issue system fails or is abandoned by consent, no doubt an attempt will be made to introduce a system involving the deposit of securities with the gov-

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ernment to cover authorized issues. If the range of such securities is extended so as to include provincial, municipal, railway, and other first-class securities, and if the time limit for the deposit of such securities is extended over a term of years, the straining effect of a change from an absolutely elastic system of currency to one more fixed would probably be carried out without serious consequences. But any such change would necessitate the withdrawal from use of upwards of at least $50,000,000 (bank circulation and "till money"). Many years will elapse before Canada can afford to make any such sacrifice.

Let me in conclusion make the following suggestions, which, though not bearing on the Canadian bank system, would, I believe, if adopted, confer upon the United States the greatest measure of permanent financial relief and be a satisfactory solution of the currency question, which must be faced soon, and the sooner the better. Let the bank-note circulation of the United States be limited to the paid-up capital of the banks, and in case of insolvency bear interest at five per cent per annum until date of redemption, and in the mean time be a first charge upon the assets of the bank and upon the double liability of shareholders, and be further secured: (*a*) by a bank-note circulation fund deposited with the government of, say, five per cent in gold of the total issues, to be contributed by each bank in proportion to its authorized issue, and held to redeem promptly the notes of any insolvent bank, the fund to be replenished as occasion requires by calls upon the contributing banks in proportion to their average circulation; (*b*) by the deposit with the Treasury, of Government, State, municipal, railroad, or other marketable securities to the extent of ninety-five per cent of the authorized issues, said securities and their value as security to be approved of by the Treasury *and by a board representing the contributing banks;* (*c*) all notes to be issued to the banks from the Treasury and to be countersigned by an officer thereof.

Under such a system the bank-note circulation of the United States should meet all the requirements of the people. Its soundness would be unimpeachable, it would contain sufficient elasticity to provide currency at all seasons of the year at a minimum cost to the borrower, it would kill the agitation for the free coinage of silver, and would give a national-bank note a world-wide circulation.

D. R. WILKIE.

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IDLENESS AND IMMORALITY.

ONE of the most curious and interesting political and economical changes of the last hundred years, although it has attracted comparatively little notice, is the transfer of the legislative and administrative branches of government from the rich to the poor. We hear a great deal about the recent transfer of *power* to the people in certain countries, such as France, England, the United States, Germany, Italy, meaning thereby the power of determining at the polls who shall compose the government and what its policy on certain questions shall be. But we hear little about the change in the character of the governing class, which is also a very marked feature of the democratic movement.

Now, the governing class all over Europe was from the fall of the Roman Empire to the Revolution in France and down to the passage of the Reform Bill in England, and, we may say, down to Andrew Jackson's time in America, the wealthy class; and the wealthy class until the present century were the owners of the soil. Modern Europe was in fact settled, if I may use the expression, on the theory that the landowners were "the country," the "legal country" as the French call it, and that everybody else was in a certain sense a sojourner or interloper. Before the Reform Bill in England, all extension of the suffrage beyond the freeholders and all admission to Parliament of men who had no property in land, was denounced as committing the public affairs to people who had "no stake in the country." The property qualification for the suffrage which existed in most States of the Union at the Revolution, and confined it to "freeholders," was based on the same assumption, the assumption, that is, that the nation was made up of those who owned the land in fee simple, and that all others might betray it, or run away from it, or had but a faint interest in its fame or prosperity.

That this notion had good traditional authority there is no denying, for it was the great landed proprietors who evoked some sort of order out of the chaos which followed the invasion of the Barbarians. The man who by force of character and military talent was able to

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gather a sufficient body of armed followers to protect a certain bit of territory against pillage by marauders, to build a fortified house on it in which his dependents might find temporary shelter for their families and cattle, and guarantee to the cultivators of the soil a fair amount of security while working in the fields, became outwardly the governor of his *protégés*. Far from wishing to share his authority, the great dread of their lives was that he would lay it down or fail to exercise it with sufficient vigor. For similar reasons they were only too glad to have his oldest son assume the same rights and duties on his father's death, and in two or three generations a hereditary landed aristocracy was established, and the reorganized society found it in full possession of all the government there was, and kept it there for a thousand years.

The men who owned the land, too, were during all this period the only wealthy class except the Jews. Land was the only investment which furnished anything that could be called an income. Everybody was more or less afraid to let his property out of his sight, or own property which could be carried away. The name given to land in the nomenclature of the English common law—"real property" or "real estate"—expressed not only the popular notion about it, but described the greatest political and economical fact of the day. The "man of property" was the landed man. He and his followers owned the country, and it seemed for ages perfectly natural and right that they should govern the country.

Now, the peculiarity of landed property which draws its income from rents is that it needs the personal attention of the owner. It used to make him a great man among his tenants, over whose future he exercised much power; and this power was increased in many countries by attaching to it the administration of local justice and the management of the financial affairs of the district or county. The country gentleman for fully twelve hundred years exercised jurisdiction over local affairs and small controversies, besides levying and spending the local taxes. He was, as a rule, consequently an extremely busy man, and became in popular estimation the only real statesman. Even in Burke's day a man of his great political genius was held by the Whigs to be unworthy of a seat in the Cabinet, because he was not connected with the landed gentry. So late as the Peninsular war, that most practical of commanders, Wellington, sent home earnest appeals for officers of "good family," meaning the sons of country gentlemen, as having some special and mysterious superiority

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in the work of fighting, although he was opposed to an enemy who had overrun Europe with an army led by the sons of butchers, bakers, and tavern-keepers. The necessity for keeping the property together in the hands of the eldest son to enable him to maintain the position of the family in society or politics, compelled the youngest sons to shift for themselves, and in every modern European country they were enabled to shift for themselves by having the public service reserved for them. They officered the army and navy and the diplomacy service, and got all the best places in the civil administration. In fact, John Bright did not exaggerate greatly when, speaking of the period before the introduction of the method of filling subordinate places by competitive examination, he called the public service a "huge system of out-door relief for the younger members of the aristocracy." The French Revolution made the first break in this system in France; but it has lasted in England almost down to our own day, and is still in existence, in a modified degree, in Germany and Austria.

It will be easily seen that this is a description of a state of things in which, as a rule, the owners of the wealth of the country were both its legislators and administrators, and that both the fathers and the sons were kept busy. They all had their duties and responsibilities, either as managers of their own estates, or as local magistrates, or as legislators, or as officers of the army and navy, or of the civil service, or as ministers of the established Church—an organization which in all countries in which it existed possessed an enormous mass of property. The economical or political revolutions which have occurred within the present century have greatly changed all this. Power has passed from the owners of the land to people of every kind of occupation. The work of legislation has been largely given over to poor men, or the sons of poor men, who in all parliamentary countries except England draw pay for it. The administrative offices have been thrown open to the same class. The great landowner has been converted almost everywhere into an annuitant, drawing a certain income from his estates, but exerting comparatively little influence in the lives or fortunes of the tenants. In a word, the aristocracy of all countries except Germany has become our idle class. It is literally true of the aristocrats now that they toil not, neither do they spin. They no longer render the state the service which the old feudal tenures exacted of them, and their enjoyment of large incomes drawn from the industry expended on the soil by others becomes increasingly difficult to defend in the forum of abstract justiee. The great

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landholders of the world have in fact more and more to protect themselves by showing the danger to all property that would probably result from an attack in their particular kind of property. One consequence of this is that the accumulated wealth of the world no longer passes into the land. The passion for "broad acres" has died or is rapidly dying out. The number of people who are "land poor" increases. The extraordinary improvement in the means of communication has, for practical purposes, thrown all the agricultural land of the world into one market, and thereby all the farmers, from China to Peru, compete with each other.

As either a consequence or an accompaniment of this, the accumulated capital of each year is now gathered up by corporations who turn it over in all sorts of industrial enterprises, through the instrumentality of hired employees, and pay the owners a moderate but tolerably sure percentage on it. If it is not disposed of in this way, it goes into government loans, on which interest is paid out of the taxes. Now, the amount of these investments from which men may draw a certain income, without any exertion of mind or body on their own part, is something enormous. The capital invested in the railroads of the world is estimated at $30,000,000,000. The total national debts of the world are estimated at $32,000,000,000. A good deal of this, of course, does not yield interest, but if, on the average, it pays one per cent, the income drawn from it is immense, and we leave out of sight the very large number of various industrial enterprises owned by corporations whose shares may be held by anybody, however unused to and unfit for active business.

The interest on this great sum, of course, goes in a considerable degree into the pockets of men and women who are actively engaged in some sort of industry, and represents their savings. A considerable part of it is devoted to the support of helpless people, widows and orphans, and the aged and infirm. Much of it passes into the treasury of charitable and educational institutions and churches. But it affords also to a large and increasing body of persons of both sexes the means of living lives of absolute leisure, of abstaining, that is to say, from all distasteful labor, from doing the things they do not like to do; and what is perhaps fully as important in its moral aspect is, that it breaks their connection with any particular locality. In the old days before the creation of this great mass of stocks and bonds, nearly every man was bound by ties of some sort to a particular place, in which his presence during the greater part of the year was made

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necessary by some sort of duty, or from which departure was difficult or inconvenient. Of course this is still true of the great bulk of mankind. The majority of the human race are still in a certain sense *adscripti glebæ* bound by uncontrollable circumstances to pass their lives in some particular spot of earth. But the proportion which can, if they please, lead nomad lives, that is, can pass from place to place at will and settle themselves for longer or shorter periods in any one that takes their fancy, gains very rapidly and is now very large in every country. England and America supply by far the greater number of these "*heimathlosen*," as the Germans call people who have no fixed domicile, owing doubtless in part to Anglo-Saxon restlessness, but certainly in a very great degree to the large revenue yielded in these countries by various kinds of what we call "interest-bearing securities," or, in other words, to the large number of persons in both countries who have investments which do not call for their personal attention and are made fruitful by other people's management and labor. No doubt a good deal of this migration has serious objects in view—such as health or education. But the proportion of it that is simply aimless wandering in search of new forms of excitement or amusement is very large and is growing. One of the most marked effects of this migratory habit is a certain volatility which makes it difficult to keep the attention fixed very long on one object or on one species of occupation or amusement, and ends by reducing its victims to a somewhat childish mental condition. Every one who has had any acquaintance with the world of fashion and leisure which is to be found at any of the European winter and summer resorts must have observed how easily people tire of their amusements and companions, how necessary frequent change of place or pursuit is to their comfort, and how often they remind one of the perennial childish cry, "Mamma, what shall I do next?"

Mr. Gladstone, in discussing Lord Tennyson's "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After," enumerates the changes which have come over England within that period, and mentions as one of the most marked the great increase of this idle class, and he throws on them the burden of justifying their existence. But the increase continues in an accelerated ratio. The last thing in the world they think of is justifying either their existence or the manner of their existence. No class are less given to any species of speculative inquiry or less troubled about the moral aspect of their pursuits. In so far as the members have become serious, it is in desiring new forms of amusement or new

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places to play in. In fact, they have made amusement a business, and engage in it with an attention to details, a regard to finish and efficiency, which in many cases would be sufficient to insure success in any species of trade or industry. Where they are weak is in want of persistence, for to nothing is a life of amusement more fatal, as I have said, than the power of continuance in any one pursuit. The will becomes gradually weakened under long release from strenuous exertion, and the thing "got up," however successful it may be, soon becomes tiresome.

There is one distraction, however, of which the idle class can hardly be said ever to tire and which idle people can hardly be considered capable of avoiding, and that is the distraction of love-making under more or less illicit conditions. This is what they fall back on when all else fails or becomes vapid. When men and women are thrown together in the midst of luxury without duties or responsibility, and without exposure to any criticism except what comes from persons similarly situated, the possibilities of scandal grow very rapidly, and the air is soon filled with it. The sexual passion is of all passions the most wayward, watchful, and readiest for temptations. Neither land nor religion, nor tradition nor custom, has yet been able to furnish a force capable of keeping it wholly within the artificial channels which society has provided for it. Propinquity, as is well known, is always liable to rouse it into action even in the most humdrum conditions. The disposition of the "any man" to fall in love with the "any woman" whom he sees most frequently is one of the common-places of worldly wisdom. So is the disposition of the "any woman" to see in the "any man" with whom she may be thrown into daily or frequent intercourse a possible lover. On this very solid anthropological fact the code of propriety which in all countries regulates the intercourse of the sexes has been framed. In semi-barbarous societies it is framed by men, is rigid in its requirements and Draconian in its penalties. In highly civilized societies it is largely framed and enforced by women, and though its provisions have been greatly relaxed and its sanctions much mitigated, nevertheless its basal assumption, as the philosophers say, remains undisturbed. That assumption is that when young persons of both sexes are thrown together with nothing to do, they need, whether married or single, to be closely supervised.

This precise situation does not often arise when people are living in their homes in their own countries. They have there cares and responsibilities, and perhaps work to do. They are surrounded by

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relatives or friends, and feel the harness of custom and tradition and public opinion in nearly every act of their lives. The first step in the path of vice or folly draws forth warnings which they have been taught by long habit to respect. But when removed from the pressure of these time-honored restraints, as in the large country-houses in England or on the Continent, and as in the fashionable resorts, such as Pau or Monte Carlo, or a score of other places which I need not enumerate, which in our time are crowded with the rich and idle both summer and winter, the air becomes charged with amorous electricity; men and women become, consciously or unconsciously, ready for amorous adventures. There are few women who are not, under such conditions, more or less ready for the mild excitement at least of repelling unlawful advances, and few or no men who do not believe themselves worthy of a *bonne fortune*, and likely to fall in for one any day. Hunting, polo, lawn tennis, gambling, dinner-giving, all pall in the long run, or are confined to certain seasons, but the *ewige Weib* remains as a perennial resource. The annual social chronicles of the Indian *sanitaria* in "the Hills" and of the pleasure resorts of the European continents contain illustrations in abundance of the tremendous strain which an idle and luxurious life puts on the bonds of the old morality. The murders, the duels, or the elopements which every now and then occur, impressive as they are, give but a slight idea of the moral turmoil which goes on below the surface. Every year contributes its list of catastrophes of which the world never hears, of work made hopelessly repulsive on the very threshold of life, of family peace destroyed beyond recovery, of affections irretrievably diverted from their old and lawful channels, of honest worth covered with ridicule, of high aspirations quenched in a swash of triviality or childish "gayety." The worship of wealth, in its coarsest and most undraped form, too, that is, wealth as a purveyor of meat, drink, clothing, and ornamentation, which goes on in this *milieu*, "makes hay" of all noble standards of individual and social conduct.

Perhaps the very worst influence of the idler, however, is to be found in the effect of the spectacle of their lives on what is called "the labor problem." "The labor problem" is really the problem of making the manual laborers of the world content with their lot. In my judgment this is an insoluble problem. No discoveries nor inventions will ever solve it as long as population continues to press close on the available products of human industry. The causes of the dissatisfaction of the masses with their condition may change from age to age,

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but the dissatisfaction will continue, and the blame will be always laid on those who have a larger share of the world's goods than others. But there is no question that the existing discontent is, and not unreasonably, aggravated by the spectacle of the enjoyment by the growing idle class of the benefits of the social and political organizations, without any contribution worth mention to the trouble and cost of maintaining these organizations. The taxes paid by the annuitant or *rentier* class are but a trifling return in reality for the security they possess for person and property. The workers of the world provide them with police, with courts of justice, and means of travel—in short, every agency which makes their enjoyment possible, for sums in cash which they would hardly pay to a good club. Reasonably or unreasonably, the masses resent this more and more. It gives mere envy an air of respectability and rationality. They say that even if a good defence may be made for inequality of conditions based on inequality of capacity and services, there ought not in truly democratic communities be any people who render no service at all, and who allow others to till, and spin and weave, and police, and fight, and teach, and invent and discover, plough the seas and dig the mines for them, while they look on and draw their quarterly dividends and spend them in childishness; that we shall never have social peace till every man has a fair share of the social burdens.

The arguments in favor of the existence of the class called "men of leisure" are familiar to every one. The contributions of this class to civilization have been very great. There are books of the greatest value to the community which cannot be contributed by busy men. It is only the men of leisure who can look after the artistic side of life, and the artistic side of life has to be cultivated in order to keep man above the contented ox or porker. The services, too, which they render to the state by being allowed to choose their work are often of inestimable value. No one can think of Darwin's, or Grote's, or Cavour's, or Gladstone's, or Howard's, or Motley's competency without thankfulness. Even the socialists share this feeling. It is impossible to say which of all men of leisure will turn their leisure to useful account; and it would be therefore dangerous, even if it were possible, to make a rule prohibiting their existence. The best thing in the world is individual freedom; and a man who is compelled to work by law when there is no fear of his becoming dependent on the labor of others for a livelihood, is to all intents and purposes a slave. Better that ten men should loaf than that one should lose his liberty.

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But modern democracy must take on itself part of the blame which it throws on the idlers. The rich are being gradually and relentlessly excluded as a rule from public office in all the democratic countries. There are enough well-to-do men of leisure in New York to give us an excellent city government without payment, except in the subordinate places, were the poor willing to give up their chance of the salaries. Venice, in its best days, secured a large body of good officials by compelling men of fortune to serve in the offices to which they were elected. Berlin has to-day a first-rate common council made up in the same way. But there is very little chance of our seeing this system spread. The most discouraging phenomena of government by universal suffrage thus far is its strong tendency to treat public offices as "plums" rather than trusts, to be distributed among poor men as rewards for winning elections, and to consider indifference to the salary as a positive disqualification.

As long as this tendency lasts, we fear the alienation of the rich and their disposition to make amusement a serious business will continue, and the chief cure will be found only in the resolute resistance of the individual conscience. Nothing does more in this country to recruit the ranks of the pleasure-seekers than the tendency of rich fathers, backed up in this by the public generally, to treat money-making as the only serious business of life. A young man bred in this notion naturally says to himself when he inherits a fortune: "Money-getting, however laudable a pursuit in itself, is surely only incumbent on those who have not got it or want more of it than they have got. Why should I, who have got all I want, continue to work for it? No, I must enjoy it." And when he has given himself up to the child's life, buying fresh toys every day and throwing them away the next, the only thing which excites the wonder of those of his friends and neighbors who do not envy him, is that he should not have "stayed in business." The truth is that there has never been an age of the world in which there were such opportunities for men of fortune to find enjoyment in contributions to the general welfare. To some natures philanthropy, pure and simple, is odious, but there remain art, literature, science, agriculture, education. By this last I do not mean simply the instruction of youth either at schools or colleges, but also the work of persuasion through voice and pen. There never has been in the history of the world such a field for orators and writers as a democratic country now offers. There is no nobler nor more fascinating game than the work of changing the opinions of

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great bodies of men, by inducing them to discard old beliefs and take on new ones, or arresting their rush after strange gods. But very few indeed ever take up any such work late in life. The taste for it must be formed and the equipment provided in youth. Though last, not least, the delusion must be got rid of that there is no use in trying to act on the minds of one's fellow-men unless one can thereby get an office. It is this which makes a great many useful young men wash their hands of politics and go in for polo and tennis and flirtations instead. Official life, as our Government is now organized, has no field for a really high ambition. Public functionaries are becoming more and more the puppets of the managers outside, and the managers are whatever public opinion lets them be or insists on their being. The coming rulers of men are those who mould the thoughts or sway the passions of the multitude.

E. L. GODKIN

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DOES THE FACTORY INCREASE IMMORALITY?

THE entrance of woman into industries was assured when the factory system of labor displaced the hand system. Harriet Martineau, on her visit to America in 1840, found but seven employments open to woman—teaching, needle-work, keeping boarders, working in cotton-mills, type-setting, work in bookbinderies, and household service. To-day there are but few lines of remunerative employment not open to her. In Massachusetts—and the statistics in Massachusetts are indicative of conditions in all advanced States—of the 394,584 persons engaged in all the great industries in 1885, 112,762 were women and 281,822 men ; and the percentages of women engaged in different industries were as follows :

INDUSTRIES.	PER CENT OF ALL WORKERS.	INDUSTRIES.	PER CENT OF ALL WORKERS.
Federal employment	12.	Transportation	.29
Professional service	46.26	Agriculture	.52
Personal service	40.66	Fisheries	.09
Trade	11.09	Manufacture	28.58

The Federal Commissioner of Education states that of the whole number of public-school teachers in the United States 65.5 per cent, and in Massachusetts and New Hampshire more than 90 per cent, are women. These figures show how thoroughly woman has broken out of industrial subjection into a free field.

One of the most important questions that arises is, How has woman's moral and intellectual condition been changed by her new industrial environment ? To my own mind this is an entirely one-sided question, although I am free to admit that my views have undergone something of a change as official investigation has progressed. That she is intellectually better off now, there is no question. The factory has taken the lowest orders and raised them to higher planes; that is to say, while the factory has simplified labor and thus enabled a comparatively ignorant class to perform the work, it has raised this comparatively ignorant class to a higher intellectual plane, while it cannot be shown that it has caused women of higher intellectual development to degenerate from their former standard.

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In the Eastern States we have seen the gradual changes in fifty years of three nationalities of factory employees. The American girl, the daughter of the farmer in New England or the Middle States, was formerly found in the textile factories. She gave place to the English girl, and the English girl in turn to the Irish operative. The Irish operative has gradually given place to the French-Canadian, and many Swedes are now taking their places at the looms and before the spinning frames. But successively each has stepped up in the scale of civilization and in the improved conditions of her environment. Irish girls are now found in our great stores—bright, keen saleswomen. The daughters of scrubwomen, having received an education in our public schools, have become ambitious to occupy places that their mothers could not occupy. These facts prove emphatically the intellectual advantages which have surrounded woman, while in the higher lines of work the opening of universities and colleges and the higher institutions of learning has enabled her to become equipped for the best professional employment. The number of colleges and other institutions to which woman has access to-day in this country alone strongly supports this position. There are now 228 colleges of the liberal arts and 198 institutions for higher instruction open to woman. Without industrial prosperity and the mental stimulation which has come through active remunerative employment, it is not too much to say that this great number could not have been reached.

With reference to moral conditions, I am inclined to think that the popular impression is that, so far as wage-workers are concerned, the morals of woman are not up to the standard under the old hand system of labor, in which she took little or no part, and that her entrance into the industrial field has lowered her moral standard ; and the statement is constantly made that low wages naturally compel women to supplement their earnings by an immoral life. I believe this view to be absolutely false, and that the workingwomen of this or any other civilized country are upon as high a plane of purity as any class in the community. I make this statement upon positive investigations which I have carried as far as it has been possible, but not so far as I hope to carry them ; and in whatever direction I have turned my studies of the moral character of women engaged in industry, the result has been the same, whether in this country, in Great Britain, or upon the continent of Europe. When I have officially stated the results of such investigations, I have from some quarters

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been denounced as introducing evidence which tended to insult the very women involved, by implying that their character needed defence. Nothing has been further from my mind than this.

In 1881 I had the honor and the satisfaction of making an extended personal inquiry into the conditions surrounding factory life in this country and in Europe, and I found in that investigation that the charge that the factory promoted immorality and swelled the criminal lists was unfounded. The impression that the reverse was true first grew and gained prominence from the condition of Manchester, England, where a large cellarage population which formerly existed, but which has now almost entirely disappeared, was supposed to belong to the factory. The truth was that the cellarage population of Manchester was only to a very small degree a factory population. It belonged rather to the miserable hovel tenantry outside the factory workers which made Manchester's criminal lists in the past so large. The mistake, then, was in taking Manchester, which is not a purely factory town, as the criterion by which to judge the factory system; and from this mistake the idea became fixed in the minds of writers that the factory was responsible for immoral phases of life. It has been clearly shown by official returns from the penitentiary of Manchester that only eight out of fifty immoral women came from the factory, and twenty-nine out of fifty came from domestic service.

An extensive personal examination of the criminal records of a large number of British factory towns disclosed to me the fact that neither the ranks of the immoral nor the criminal lists were increased to so great an extent from the factory population as from other classes. A manager connected with the establishment of the Messrs. Coates, at Paisley, in Scotland, a man who had been in service more than forty years, informed me that during that whole period no one had ever gone from those works into a life of immorality. From the original entries of arrests, I was able to draw very clear conclusions, and these conclusions were in almost every case in favor of the working people, both male and female. Taking a series of years, from 1874 to 1880, inclusive, I found that the percentage of factory operatives twenty years of age and upward of the whole population in the city of Manchester was fourteen, while the percentage of arrests of factory operatives of the whole number of arrests was but nine and a half. M. Reybaud, in his investigations in France, found a constantly decreasing criminal list in a constantly increasing factory population. The conclusion is evident that if factories have a bad influence on morals,

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crime should remain in proportion as the number of factory workers increases.

In Chemnitz, Saxony, the director of police informed me that in 1876 the total number of arrests was 2,884, while in 1880 it was but 2,699, of which number 2,366 were males and only 333 females, although the larger proportion of operatives were females and the operative population of Chemnitz was constantly increasing. In this country the examination of original official entries showed that in Lewiston, Me., the factory population was at the time of my inquiry 34 per cent of the whole population over ten years of age, but the percentage of arrests of factory operatives of the whole number of arrests in that city was but 8.5. For Pawtucket, R. I., whose factory population was, when I made the inquiry, over 20 per cent of the whole over ten years of age, the percentage of arrests of factory operatives of the whole number of arrests was but 11.5. The police records of Fall River, Mass., one of the largest textile cities in America, and where the records are very complete, showed that the operatives supplied 33+ per cent of the whole number of arrests, while they constituted 38+ per cent of the whole population over ten years of age; and the factory population of Lowell, which was 30+ per cent of the whole population over ten years of age in that city, furnished but 22+ per cent of the whole number of persons arrested. In the great shoe-factory city of Lynn the shoe factories furnished 28+ per cent of the whole population over ten years of age and but 24 per cent of the persons arrested.

These facts are quite representative in their character, and should dispel the impression that the bulk of the crime of manufacturing towns comes from the factory. It is true that the new system of industry, by securing a better competency, fights bad instincts with the very best weapons—the interests of those it employs. In large towns the factories have had to contend with all the nuisances which a rapid increase of population beyond the due limits of accommodation must necessarily produce. Notwithstanding the poor material with which the factory system has often to deal, the contest for civilization is progressing successfully through its influence; and when the power of moral forces is universally recognized in the conduct of industrial enterprises, the ratio of arrests among factory workers of the whole number of arrests will be very much less than it is now.

Turning more specifically now to the question of the immorality of women, it should be borne in mind that regular employment is conducive to regular living, and that regular employment does not, as a

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rule, harmonize with a life of immorality and intemperance, or even of crime. The factory women of this country and of Europe will compare favorably in respect to chastity with the women of any other class. A factory girl whose character is not good usually finds herself in an atmosphere uncongenial at first, and finally so chilling that she leaves the establishment. What there is in factory employment that is not in other employments which should tend to an unchaste life it is difficult to understand. There are but few statistics relative to this question, but all my own inquiries have developed but one opinion, and that is that the factory does not necessarily lead to unchastity to an undue degree. The few statistics which I have been able to collect but emphasize this position, and happily supplement the results of the investigation just referred to.

In 1884 it was my privilege to make a very careful inquiry into the condition of the workingwomen of the city of Boston. The result was as emphatic as that reached in the investigation of 1881 involving many cities and towns in this country and in Europe. The testimony of the police of Boston was very gratifying, and was fully expressed by a captain of police when he said that people who charged the workingwomen with unchastity did not know what they were talking about. All the officers with whom the experts in this investigation conversed on the subject gave similar testimony. The conclusion of that investigation was that so far as their moral condition was concerned the workingwomen of the city of Boston were making a heroic, honest, and virtuous struggle to earn an honorable livelihood, and that it was rare that one of them could be found leading an improper life. The fact that here and there a girl forsakes the path of virtue and leads a sinful life should not be used to the detriment of the class to which she belongs, especially when her life is peculiarly exposed to temptation, as is the case with girls struggling on five dollars a week. It is exceedingly easy to be good on a sure and generous income ; but it requires the strongest character to enable one to be good on an unstable income of five dollars per week.

Another official investigation proves these general statements to be true. In 1888 I again had the opportunity to make some extended inquiries into the character, surroundings, and conditions of workingwomen. This was done for twenty-two of the large cities of the United States; and under this investigation information was secured relating to 3,866 fallen women. The results showed that a large proportion of them, namely, 1,155, or nearly 30 per cent, came from house-

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work and hotel work ; the next largest, so far as occupation is concerned, was 505 from the ranks of seamstresses, dressmakers, and employees of cloak and shirt factories ; while 1,236, or 31.97 per cent of the whole number, came directly from their homes.[1] Nor did the investigation show that the employers of labor were guilty of reducing their employees to the condition of unchastity, as is often alleged. It is only in the rarest cases that one meets with a whisper that this is the case; and these whispers, followed to their source, have rarely, in either of the investigations named, disclosed any facts which would lead to the conclusion that employers make bargains based on the loss of character of their employees. All such impressions originate in the idea that girls cannot dress well upon the small wages they receive, but must necessarily lead immoral lives to receive pecuniary assistance.

All the testimony, however, that I have ever been able to collect upon this point is against such an idea ; but I am sorry to say that it prevails to a very great degree, and the statement is constantly met with. Testimony of capable and honest women—of heads of departments in great stores and millinery establishments and shops, forewomen of shops, and matrons of homes, and of all those best informed and in the best position to give testimony on this point—is that the workingwomen are as respectable, as moral, and as virtuous as any class of women in the country. Of course there are exceptions in this class, as in all; but the grand fact must stand out plainly that industry cannot be burdened with a charge that falls in other directions, so far as the charge has any basis upon which it can rest.

I used to think that industrial pursuits engaged in by woman might cause her some degradation, or at least bring to her a loss of respect, which is always disastrous in any sense; but I have become convinced that a loss of respect does not occur from the co-employment of the sexes; and the fact that the co-education of the sexes in so many colleges and institutions of higher instruction has been carried on with such great advantage and without any of the evil consequences which were anticipated, is strong collateral evidence that the mingling of the sexes, either in industry or education, does not work harm to society, but on the contrary brings great good and secures that very respect which is essential to honorable social and family life.

[1] The foregoing statistics, as quoted, are taken: 1. From a "Report on the Factory System," in the Census Reports of 1880. 2. From the "Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor." 3. From the "Fourth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor."

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I am not troubled, therefore, about the integrity of the family and the purity of social life, nor the security and perpetuity of religious institutions, on account of the entrance of woman into a wide industrial and educational field; for it seems to me undeniable that the inevitable result will be increased respect for woman in every direction, because independence and capacity always bring respect; and, again, if it be considered degrading to earn one's living in productive enterprises by wages paid for manual toil, it is relatively degrading to earn it in the professions or in semi-professional employment.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT.

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THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN CATHEDRAL.

THE American traveller visits cathedrals in the old world with frequent enthusiasm and often with sincere and profound veneration. Indeed, it is probable that the larger proportion of people who make such pilgrimages, whether in England or on the Continent, is made up of Americans. But the great majority of these find in cathedrals as their chief charm a picturesque antiquity; and of Americans who have never seen a cathedral a still larger majority regard them as venerable but useless anachronisms. They do not expect to see them reproduced in their own land, and they still less desire it. They remember them as associated, in the history of the past, in more than one instance with grave abuses, and they think of them as costly and unfruitful nests for pompous and indolent ecclesiastics. Among modern novelists, Mr. Anthony Trollope has found in the cathedral and its staff a fine opportunity for amiable satire; and the misuse or perversion of a great institution has thus come to be widely accepted as identical with the thing itself.

1. And so, when some one, touched by the spell of some stately and splendid minster, asks, in a moment of enkindled feeling, "Why cannot one whose lot is cast in the Western hemisphere have the cathedral?" one answer, and that often the first that one hears, is that "cathedrals belong to the past." The religion, we are told, of the times that built cathedrals was a religion of much ignorance, of almost boundless superstition, of large leisure, and usually of a very elementary stage of civilized society. There was little teaching, because the great mass of the people was too ignorant to receive it. There was a very childish faith on the one hand, and there was enormous assumption of authority on the other. So incapable was the ordinary man or woman of being impressed otherwise than pictorially, that in ages when learning was the possession of the few, when printing had not been discovered, when books were the privilege of the rich, religion inevitably took on a dramatic or spectacular form, to which the vastness, the mystery, and the stateliness of the cathedral especially lent it-

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self. "But this," as was said not long ago in a public meeting by an eloquent ecclesiastic, "is an age not of cathedrals but of hospitals." The appropriate symbolism of religion is something—a building, a society, a *cult*—that stands for succor and ministry to the homelier wants of man. The age, we are told, wants work, not worship; lint and bandages, not *paternosters;* men and women trained in "first aid to the injured," not surpliced choirs, and vested priests, and pealing organs, and "long-drawn aisles" and "storied windows richly dight." And it does. Not that this age is peculiar in that, nor so very eminent, perhaps, in the possession of such things as it imagines itself to be. Doubtless the mechanisms of human ministry and succor are better to-day than they were one hundred or five hundred years ago. Doubtless a modern hospital is a better equipped agency for taking care of the body than an ancient *hospice.*

But it is well to remember that every agency—I use the words advisedly and am quite ready to be challenged for their accuracy—every agency that modern Christianity employs in doing the work of its Divine Author in the world existed in substance, if not in identical form, a thousand years ago, and that the men who employed those agencies came out of cathedrals, or buildings which were as much like cathedrals—abbeys, churches, and monastic chapels—as the people of those times could make them. It is true that the old agencies became corrupt, and that the men who used them perverted them to unworthy uses. But that argument is of precisely the same force against Christianity itself as it is against the institutions which were the fruit of it. And while we are bound to recognize that fact, we are bound also to ask the further question: What, in all the noblest work for humanity that men did, in ages that we are wont, sometimes with a very imperfect knowledge of them, to call "dark ages," for their fellow-men, was the main-spring of their ministries? About that there can be no smallest question. It was not the "enthusiasm of humanity," it was not any doctrine of altruism, it was not the touch of that spell of love which they had learned, however obscurely, from the cross of Christ. In other words, when we come to look back on the ages that first built the first hospitals and founded the first brotherhoods and housed the first orphans, we see that all this manifold service for humanity was done by men who had learned the secret of *work*, because first they had known that mightiest inspiration that comes from *worship.* One would not speak ungratefully or ungraciously of those forms of religious activity which distinguished his own

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generation. It may well be thankfully owned that our time has seen a vast advance upon that conception of religion which was largely the conception of our forefathers—a conception that confounded discipleship with ecstasy, that mistook passive receptivity for devotion, that construed piety to be a kind of spiritual gluttony. I do not wonder at the revolt which has dismissed such a conception of Christian discipleship from multitudes of lives.

But we may well take care lest in recoiling from one extravagance we may swing over into another. Am I exaggerating what I may call the public or social manifestation of religion, its organized expression, as it widely prevails among us, when I say that the Church, in the popular conception, consists mainly of a huge auditorium with a platform and a more or less dramatic performer, and a congregational parlor and a parish kitchen? I recognize cordially the earnest purpose to get hold of people out of which much of this has come. But it is well to recognize something else, and that is that religion has never survived anywhere without the due recognition and conservation of the instinct of worship. That lies at the basis of it, always and everywhere. First, there must be something that moves us to that upward-reaching thought, out of which come penitence, and prayer, and faith—and all the rest. But a diet-kitchen will not do that, nor anything that appeals only to the utilitarian side of life. I appeal to any candid experience whether there is not, on the other hand, something else that does. I ask those who remember Rouen, or Durham, or Salisbury whether, when first they entered some such noble sanctuary, there was not that in its proportions, its arrangements, its whole atmosphere, which made it, in a sense that it had never been before, their impulse to kneel? We may protest that this is mere religious æstheticism, and in one sense it is; but until we have divorced the soul and the body, the eye and the mind, the imagination and the senses, we cannot leave it out of account. We Americans are said to be the most irreverent people in the world, and of the substantial truth of that accusation there cannot be the smallest doubt. But did it ever occur to us to ask how it has come about? It is time to stop talking about the influence of Puritan traditions to descendants who are so remote from those traditions as to be unable to distinguish between the austerity that hated ceremonialism and the debonair indifferentism that dismisses the simplest elements of religious decorum. We have little reverence, because we have but a poor environment in which to learn it. The vast majority of church build-

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ings in America are utterly unsuggestive of the idea of worship. There is nothing in them to hush speech, to uncover the head, to bend the knee. And as a matter of fact they do nothing of the sort. They are expedients devised for a certain use, and that use is one which, under any honest construction of it, involves an utterly fragmentary conception of the Christian religion.

And what, meantime, have we been seeing all over the land? We have been seeing a development of domestic, civic, and commercial architecture of the most costly and grandiose kind. I have been told that the costliest building in America is that which houses a life insurance company. Is this a fine satire on that decay of faith that has dismissed out of the horizon all other and more irretrievable risks of destruction? Surely, about one thing there can be no doubt, and that is that the noblest ideas should have the noblest expression. But what are the noblest ideas if they are not those which ally man to a nobler and diviner future? It is in vain that a clever scepticism—comic and, forsooth, textually critical in the latest and noisiest exhibition of it among us—it is in vain that such a scepticism dispenses with God, and tells us that it has looked into the bottom of the analytical chemist's crucible and found no soul. Out from the despair of the present, the heart travels as by a mathematical law along the ascending arc of faith, until it reaches the vision of the kingdom that is to be. And the witness of that kingdom—its visible expression in stone and color, in form and dimensions, in position and dignity—is *that* not of the smallest possible consequence, while you are taking infinite pains with your child's bedroom that it shall have its face to the sun, or your stables that they shall be well drained? There is something, when we stop to think of it, in the relative cost and thought that men spend on the places in which they sleep, and eat, and lounge, and trade—on a club, a hotel, a theatre, a bank—on the one hand, and on a house for the worship of the Arbiter of one's eternal destiny on the other, which must strike an angel, if he is capable of such an emotion, with a sense of pathetic humor. And we are, many of us, so entirely clear about it. "Yes," we say in effect, "let us have churches which are cheap expedients, and that in the poverty of their every attribute express the poverty of our conceptions of reverence, of majesty, of worship. But let us build our own palaces as if indeed we ourselves were kings." I submit that in such a situation the cathedral, instead of being an anachronism, is a long-neglected witness which we may sorely need. The greatest ages of the world, the greatest nations of

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the world, have not been those that built only for their own comfort or amusement; and it is simply inevitable that a great idea meanly housed, meanly expressed in these forms in which we express reverence for our heroes and love for our dead, and loyalty to our country, in which, in one word, we express toward our best and greatest among our fellow-men or toward human institutions, veneration, and affection, and patriotism—it is inevitable, I say, that a great idea thus meanly treated will come to be meanly esteemed. We are fond of speaking of what is archaic and superannuated, and, of our cis-Atlantic wants and conditions, as being, on the other hand, somehow absolutely unique and exceptional. But they are not. America wants, I suppose, honesty and integrity and faith quite as much and indeed rather more than she wants electric railways and a protective tariff. And if so, she wants the visible institutions which at once testify to and bear witness for these things, and that in their most majestic and convincing proportions. It is an interesting question, if a foreigner were asked where in America he had seen any visible structure which impressively witnessed to religion, and which compared worthily with the enormous buildings reared for other purposes or with similar structures in other lands—it would be interesting, I repeat, if somewhat humiliating, to hear what he would say. For, in fact, there are not five church edifices in the United States which, for dignity, monumental grandeur, nobility of conception or proportion, are worthy of being mentioned. And it would seem to be worth while to consider whether, the country having spent the first hundred years of its existence in making itself extremely rich and extremely comfortable, it might not be well to set about building at least one noble structure which did not weave, or print, or mould, or feed, or lodge, save as it wove the garment of an immortal hope, and fed, and formed, and housed those creatures of a yet loftier destiny who are immortal. In one word, it can hardly be urged that a cathedral is out of date until it is admitted that it is out of date to believe in God and to worship Him.

2. But again it is urged by a very different class of objectors that, while there may be force in what has been thus far urged, a cathedral is a thing not to be desired, because as an institution it fosters the spirit of ecclesiasticism, promotes the growth of priestly assumptions, and builds up within the communion that accepts it an official oligarchy, narrow in its vision, arrogant in its pretensions, and reactionary in

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its influence. There is much in history that confirms such an impression, and it will be well frankly to recognize it. But we have no sooner discerned such a fact than we may, if we choose, discern the reason for it. The cathedral has been, in many ages and lands throughout Christendom, in this particular, like religious orders. It has been made up of men of one caste or class. The administration of its affairs both temporal and spiritual has been largely vested in the hands of this one class. Abuses of power, perversions of function, misappropriation of property, indolence, nepotism, and unwarrantable usurpations have all been possible if not inevitable, because a single caste or class has exercised its powers and discharged its trusts, unchecked by criticism or revision other than that of its own order. Now, it does not greatly matter what the order may happen to be, ecclesiastical, civic, or military: such a condition of things carries in its train the same inevitable dangers. The remedy is obvious, and in modern ecclesiastical corporations it has been, on the whole, wisely applied. It is the introduction of the lay element into the administration of ecclesiastical affairs. That in the recoil from the abuses of priest-ridden communities or institutions the movement in that direction may have been excessive is not improbable ; but on the whole, at any rate in that communion of which the writer is a member, the abuses in connection, for example, with a cathedral which are the product of undue authority and excessive isolation on the part of the clergy, are no longer possible. In one way or another (it is not possible within these limits to indicate in detail how this is variously provided for in various dioceses) no American cathedral can ever be wholly independent of any other than merely clerical control and restraint.

Meantime, to those who are wont to think of the cathedral as fruitful only of ecclesiastical exclusiveness or of pampered indolence, it is well to remember that, of the names that come first to one's lips in rehearsing the history of modern theological literature, *e.g.*, in the Church of England, those of Alford and Milman, of Trench and Wordsworth, of Stanley and Liddon, and Westcott, and Payne-Smith, and Burgon, and Row are only a few of many to whom scholars everywhere have been indebted, and all of these have been deans or canons or prebendaries in English cathedrals. When we think of a cathedral, we are apt to think merely of a huge building; but in fact the building is simply the home of an organized society, and the organized society exists to give the most adequate expression to religious worship and the most efficient presentation of religious truth. And so, out of the nec-

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essary provision not for one man of one gift, but for a group of men of various gifts, there comes a fellowship of community which may indeed, like any other earthly community, be perverted from its original design to unworthy ends, but which holds, nevertheless, in that original design one of the noblest possible conceptions of the effective use of the best gifts for the greatest good of the greatest number. So far as the ministry can consent at all to be called a profession, the appointments to cathedral dignities, deaneries, canonries, and the rest may be regarded as the prizes of the profession. And on the whole it cannot be denied that, in our time at any rate, they are as a rule wisely and worthily bestowed. This, however, is of far less consequence than the further fact that such bestowal has undoubtedly resulted in giving, to men of exceptional gifts, opportunities which otherwise they could never have commanded, for employing these gifts and enlarging the horizon of the best scholarship, and in the loftiest realm of learning, which is surely that of theology.

In our country, for a considerable part of its earlier history, this result has been reached to some extent in connection with our colleges and universities. But whatever may have been the services which these have rendered to the cause of sound learning, it will not be denied that their dominant enthusiasms are to-day directed toward a learning which is purely secular. Less and less are American colleges, especially those of commanding influence, the homes of religious teaching or theological inquiry ; and though there are other centres for these things, none of them can ever have the unique advantages of that calm retreat which is to be found in a cathedral close. Worship, meditation, and the large liberty from pedagogic duties which there obtains would seem to be the ideal conditions for the achievements of a Christian scholar.

3. But even if this is admitted, there are those who will still dismiss the cathedral with the one sweeping and final condemnation that it is "un-American." I have never been quite able to make out why this is said unless it be that cathedrals are not indigenous to America, or else because deans and canons are sometimes appointed by the Queen. On any other ground there could not well be a more curiously inaccurate statement. Dismissing any attempt at subtle definition, I suppose that the synonym for "un-American" would be "undemocratic," or aristocratic, or exclusive. But the cathedral in America, at any rate in any case in which its worship is not in an

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alien tongue and under foreign authority, is of all other places the one in which the principles of democracy invariably obtain. The history of religious worship and of religious buildings in America is, in this aspect of it, as exceptional as it is inconsistent. I presume it would be safe to say that there is no other land in Christendom where so many places of religious worship bear witness to the inflexible supremacy of the spirit of caste. For what is the spirit of caste if it be not the spirit which in these conditions and relationships, seeming to exclude distinctions implying superiority or inferiority of persons, insists upon affirming them? And is there any other institution which, in the face of the plain teachings of the religion of Jesus Christ —as where in the Epistle of St. James it is said: "My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons. For if there come unto your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment; and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing and say unto him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool: Are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?" (*i.e.*, discriminate from unworthy motives)—is there, I ask, any other institution which, in the face of the plain teaching of its Founder, departs so radically and habitually from that teaching as thus given as does the modern pewed church? Mr. Webster once said that it was an evidence of the divine origin of Christianity that it had so long survived its being preached in tub pulpits. It will be a stronger evidence of it if in America it survives the enormous incongruity of the pew system. But in St. Paul's in London or in St. Peter's in Rome, to-day, sanctuaries each of grandest proportions and of most magnificent worship, you may see what, never since their doors were opened, has by any chance been seen in any one of the sanctuaries that line our chief thoroughfares in the great cities of America—and that is a steady stream not alone of the poor, but of the poorest, ragged, barefooted, travel-stained, workingwomen and peasants, with babies in their arms, to whom those Christian temples are not theirs, or yours, or mine, but God's, and therefore as free to them as God's air and God's sunshine.

And now it may well be asked, if we are going to teach the great lesson of Christian brotherhood, of the absolute equality of all men before their Father who is in Heaven, how more expressively can we teach and affirm it than by rearing a sanctuary in which nowhere nor

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under any conditions shall there be any reserved rights, any locked pews, any hired sittings, any proscription on the one hand or any favoritism on the other? And if any one inquires whether this is anything else than an idle dream, let him go and see the congregations of thousands (six or seven thousand sometimes) of workingmen gathered under the dome of St. Paul's and privileged to share in what is to-day undoubtedly the noblest and most impressive service in Christendom. The *best* is there and is for him who will come and take it.

It is in this conception that the true idea of a cathedral culminates. It is vast, it is rich, it is stately and majestic in proportion and in appointments. It is for the honor of God and not for the glory of man—*and it is free to all alike.* If this is un-American, then they who founded the Republic were un-American also. In one word, the past of Christendom has given to the future of America a great and noble instrument. Let not ours be the doubtful wisdom of those who are afraid to use it.

HENRY C. POTTER.

ROME, April, 1892.

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INCALCULABLE ROOM FOR IMMIGRANTS.

THERE is nothing the writer despises so much as bare statistics. They are about as interesting as the brushes which the artist uses in painting a portrait; yet they may be so applied as to make a true picture of life to him who has eyes to see. When I am told that five and a quarter million human beings have landed on our shores in ten years, those figures taken by themselves have the same kind of interest that one might feel when told that if the whole present population of this country would march out over Beacon Street in Boston, the mothers carrying their infants in their arms, we could give them all standing room in my town of Brookline, with some room to spare, and could signal them all from a common centre on a piece of flat prairie of the same area of about nine square miles on a still day with one trumpet. What of it ?

Nothing! yet everything! Whose imagination would be equal to the task of picturing the past, the present, and the future of the five million souls who have come here in a decade, to find some chance of relief from conscription and for the welfare for their children and their children's children? What message would one signal to the multitude, could he reach them all? I think that if I could convey words by the sound of the notes of the trumpet, I should repeat the prophecy of Sir Edwin Arnold, which my imagination justifies because I find it interwoven among the figures with which I deal so much:

"Peace beginning to be
Deep as the sleep of the sea
When the stars their faces find
In its blue tranquillity ;
Hearts of men upon earth,
That rested not from their birth,
To rest as the wild waters rest
With colors of heaven on their breast.

"Love, which is sunlight of peace,
Age by age to increase
Till angers and hatred are dead,
And war and want shall cease ;

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Peace on earth and good-will;
Souls that are gentle and still
Hear the first music of this
Far-off, infinite bliss."

That is the vision of the future of this country to him who can apply imagination to the figures of our commerce and even of our immigration. When we deal with the commerce itself and the laws which govern it, it only needs to give the true translation to the Greek text of the Scripture—the golden rule—and to give its true expression in English: "Thou shalt *serve* thy neighbor as thyself." Then the imagination discloses the high calling of the masters of every craft and justifies the ways of God to man—because it is through the service of commerce that one need take no thought for the morrow what he shall eat or what he shall drink or wherewithal he shall be clothed. Only let him do his own work well in the service of his neighbor and all these things shall be added unto him.

It is very difficult to deal with the problem of immigration in mere figures. One must apply the imagination to the potential of this country and to the neighboring Dominion of Canada, which must in the nature of things soon be dealt with as practically a part of our Union, either through actual union or what would be substantially the same thing, through reciprocal free trade. The mission of the English-speaking people of this continent is to promote peace and good-will, and, by way of abundant production at the lowest cost from which the highest wages are derived, to compel Europe to disarm by assuming such control over the commerce of the world that no nation or state can compete with us which is burdened with standing armies, war debts, and heavy taxes—consequently working at high cost of production, from which very low rates of wages are derived.

It is stated that in ten years, from 1881 to 1890 inclusive, the number of immigrants landed in this country was 5,250,000. It is urgently recommended that a tax be imposed upon every immigrant, without regard to his status or condition. In regard to special classes of paupers, criminals, and incapable persons who may be assisted or sent here by foreign governments to get rid of, there can be no question; they should be sent back to those who consigned them to this country with the intention of putting their burdens upon us. That is an entirely separate matter. The purpose of the present treatise is to deal with the main question, Shall ordinary immigrants be taxed or not? The argument upon which the proposition for taxation or

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exclusion is based seems to be mainly that our free land has been disposed of by the Government, and that we have no longer any land to give away. That may be admitted. What has it to do with the question? The disposal of land by original owners, either the government, the state, or private persons, has no necessary connection with the occupancy and productive use of land.

A little more than ten years ago I happened to be the guest of a very intelligent and experienced cotton-manufacturer in Manchester, England. In the course of an evening's discussion on various subjects this gentleman remarked that the status of Great Britain was becoming doubtful; that the United States was beginning to attack the supremacy of Great Britain in various arts and manufactures, competing with her in foreign countries; that Great Britain already depended upon foreign countries for one-half of her food, and that if she ceased to be capable of exchanging manufactures for food, what would become of her people? This danger to Great Britain, he remarked, would become plain to every one whenever we ceased to tax our people on the materials used in manufactures which we imported.

To this I rejoined, "Send them to the United States."

"But," said he, "your land is all exhausted."

I expressed great surprise, asking him what he meant.

He replied, "I have the latest report of your land office, and I find that your public land is about all disposed of."

That is the same issue which is raised to-day. What of it? My rejoinder to my English friend was this: "My dear sir, I have not bragged yet, have I?"

"No," he replied, "you are as modest a Yankee as I ever met."

"Then," said I, "I will begin to brag now by telling you the exact truth, but in such a form that you will be utterly incapable of believing it." I then proceeded to say to him: "If you will send from England and Scotland intelligent and industrious men to occupy that portion of a single State of the United States by which it exceeds the empire of Germany in area, comprising a little patch which will itself be larger than Great Britain, we will presently return to you from that now unoccupied territory the present cotton crop of the United States [then four million bales] and the present wheat crop of the United States [then two hundred and fifty million bushels]. We will support all the people who make these crops on what we do not export; and if you are not satisfied, we will also feed cattle upon the winter wheat in order to keep it below the first joint until after the danger from

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frost, and we will then send you a large amount of meat from that product." Of course I referred to the State of Texas, and to the counties mainly in the Northwest which are at present sparsely populated. I then remarked that on the north side of the Red River came the Indian Territory, of about fifty thousand square miles, together with No Man's Land, now called Oklahoma, which, added together, would make another productive body of territory of about the same area as Great Britain, which would ultimately be brought to the use of mankind. My friend was forced to admit that he had previously had no comprehension of the potential of the United States.

I now venture to call attention to yet a third area, which was then assumed to be almost a desert, the "Llano Estacado" or "Staked Plain." Within this area, which comprises a part of the "Panhandle" of Texas, so called, with some counties lying immediately adjacent thereto, are comprised some thirty thousand square miles of land; the rainfall is about twenty-five inches per year, sufficient to make it a very productive grazing country, and there is underground water in abundance. The soil is of exceeding fertility. The crops of wheat, beginning only a very few years ago, amounted last year to about five million bushels. It begins to appear also that it will be one of the areas most suitable to the production of fruit in great variety that can be found on this continent.

Again, it has often fallen to me to describe what I called ten years ago a "*terra* almost *incognita*" of the United States, the "Land of the Sky," comprising eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, northern Alabama, the mountain country of Georgia and the Carolinas, and southwestern Virginia. I have said many times that a square could be laid off, including the Piedmont plateau on the east and the Cumberland plateau on the west, nearly as large as France, twice as large as Great Britain, possessing potential in agriculture equal to either, timber and minerals, especially iron, equal to both combined. This area has as yet only begun to be worked; it is just emerging from the danger of extravagant speculation so that it may become productive and habitable.

Now, when we bear in mind that the wheat crop of this country is raised on a little bit of land, not exceeding two per cent of the area of the country (omitting Alaska), to wit, upon 60,000 square miles; that under rude and somewhat exhaustive cultivation we make only about one-half to two-thirds of a fair crop from that area, and yet that we raise a great deal more wheat than the people of this country can consume, all having enough; when we consider also that all our other grain crops occupy not more than six per cent of the same terri-

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tory—we may begin to witness the fact that as yet the potential of this country in food supply has not begun to depend upon anything but the roughest, crudest, and most unscientific methods of agriculture, applied to an insignificant part of our territory. Again, since the cost of food is about one-half the price of life, or in other words since it takes about one-half of the income of the people, we may rest assured that when science shall presently be applied to the enrichment of the soil and to the proper nutrition of men as well, the whole present population of this country might be able to derive complete nutrition from one-half the soil that is even now under cultivation. There are immense areas elsewhere which are occupied and slightly used.

Therefore, there can be at present no lack of land; neither can any one foresee any lack of land within any computable period of time, for the reason that no one yet knows the productive capacity of an acre of land anywhere. The greatest abundance of food may, perhaps, be derived by the application of intelligence to little areas where there is no soil of any kind, but where by intelligent methods the soil is made as well as the crop. Witness the market gardens in Paris, described by Prince Krapotkin, where occupants hire a barren spot and make soil as well as abundant crops to sell.

Now, if there is no lack of land waiting for occupation and use, there can be no want of work for those who may choose to apply intelligence and industry thereto. If it is rejoined that this land is held in private ownership, it is admitted. But any one who chooses can become possessed of land by purchase from private owners at this time at less cost to himself than when nearly the whole of the Western prairies were open to free occupancy under the homestead law. The facilities given for purchase and for occupancy and for becoming established more than compensate one who now desires to become a farmer for the price of land. The only difference between the conditions of the present and the conditions of the past is that one may no longer succeed in getting a living, or anything more than a living, by mere crude labor or unintelligent work. Land itself is more easily obtained than ever before. Again, the "abandoned farms" in New England, so called, are waiting only for intelligence and energy corresponding to that possessed by those who cleared them to make them the dwelling-place of a large population of intelligent people.

Admitting that we have a difficult problem to deal with in the population of the most crowded portions of our Eastern cities, one may observe that this population is not becoming any more difficult to

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deal with by any increase in what may be called the population of the slums and tenement-houses. It is true that a part of the incoming tide of people stops on the way in our Eastern cities and becomes difficult to deal with on account of ignorance of our language or ignorance of our habits and customs, and yet more through the inherited filthy habits of those who rest for a time or become restless for a time under these conditions. But all the evidence that we can obtain goes to prove that this slum population does not increase; the children emerge and we may gradually learn how to conduct them on their way through this slough which seems to be a slough of despond, but is not in fact. No great proportion of the five and one-quarter million of immigrants that have come here in the past ten years could have stayed in the cities ; if they had, the people of New York would not have been disappointed in the results of the eleventh census.

Again, the very assumed necessity for a law forbidding the importation of laborers under contract indicates that there is a lack of workmen in such occupations as might make it an inducement to import contract laborers if permitted. From my own experience in this undertaking during the war, I do not think that any intelligent employer of labor would try the importation of a mass of laborers under contract more than once. I think it is a bugbear which has very little force. It may stop some objectionable immigrants from coming here, but more often it stands in the way of getting people here who have special aptitude and who are needed, of whom we have no counterparts.

On the other hand, I venture to call attention to the apparent motive of those who support the present tariff system. It is to induce the removal or immigration of every art or branch of industry which legislators assume that we could conduct in this country, and to establish it here, whether we have working people who possess the required aptitude or not. For instance, in the matter of tin plates; the art of dipping sheets of iron or steel into melted tin after they have been treated with oil and acid is a very nasty, very obnoxious process. It is not probable that we have any class in this country that would undertake it. Those who have sufficient intelligence to become qualified can do better, and those who would be willing are not capable; therefore this policy invites a class of persons to come here who, according to those who oppose immigration, are the very persons whom we ought to keep out. To be consistent, those who advocate heavy duties upon the products of foreign pauper labor might rightly support an act placing a tax upon the laborer, pauper or otherwise.

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But there would be a great difficulty in imposing this tax upon immigrants. The pauper laborer is not the one whom our skilled workmen may dread to see coming to this country. Paupers may be ready to work at very low wages, but owing to their incapacity the cost of their work is very high. If the workmen of this country have any class to dread it would be incoming skilled laborers. Now, the difficulty in putting a tax upon the intelligent and skilled workman is that *he can smuggle himself.* He need only pay the additional cost of coming around through Canada or Mexico, stepping across the border line at an unguarded point or ferrying himself across a river. I think we may rightly say that we could not keep out intelligent, skilful, and industrious people if we would, and we would not if we could. The low-priced manual laborers who are said to have been induced to come here under contract to grade our railways or to do the digging and the delving are filling a gap. Those who did this work a few years ago have gone up higher.

One may ask, Is there such a very heavy competition in the labor market as has been claimed? If there were, the price of labor would have fallen during the last ten years, while this great army of workmen was coming in upon us. But the price of labor has not fallen. Wages have advanced steadily. In 1880 they were higher even than during the paper-money period, or the inflation period, or the period of the excessive demands of the war. General wages were higher in 1890 than they were in 1880 by from ten to forty per cent, according to the grade of the workman. That is proved by my own somewhat insufficient observation and investigation, and I submit this estimate in advance of the report which may soon be expected from the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, believing that I shall be fully sustained.

The period that has elapsed since the end of the Civil War is one of the most remarkable in economic history. In spite of the disadvantage in which this country has been placed by the excessive taxes or duties upon materials of foreign origin which are necessary in the processes of our domestic industry, by which we have been forbidden to build ships for ocean traffic, by which the exportation of many articles, especially heavy machinery, which we formerly enjoyed, has been taken away from us; in spite of the relatively high cost of the mills and works due to the difference in the cost of materials as compared with our competitors—such has been the magnitude of the demand, in part induced by the influx of immigrants who have established themselves in our own country under favorable conditions and have

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become consumers of our merchandise and manufactured products as well as producers of others, that there has been during the twenty-seven years since 1865, subject to temporary variations and fluctuations, *a steady advance in the rates of wages, a steady reduction in the cost of labor per unit of product, and a corresponding reduction in the price of goods of almost every kind to the consumer.*

There has never been a period in the history of this or any other country when the general rate of wages was as high as it is now, or the prices of goods relatively to the wages as low as they are to-day, nor a period when the workman, in the strict sense of the word, has so fully secured to his own use and enjoyment such a steadily and progressively increasing proportion of a constantly increasing product. Hence, so far as our experience goes in dealing with the great flood of immigration which has poured in upon us in increasing measure during these twenty-five years, greater in the last ten years than ever before, all the facts and the conditions would tend to prove that we might invite its continuance, so far as it consists of the intelligent and the capable who constitute by far the greatest portion, rather than impose taxes to keep the intelligent and capable from coming here to improve their condition. We now have specific and absolute data in respect to manufactures, the mechanic arts, and mining going to prove that, through the application of science and invention in these specific directions, those who do the actual work in the sense in which the workman uses that phrase—in a lessening number of hours and with less arduous effort—secure constantly advancing wages, increased purchasing power, better food and more of it, more clothing, if not quite as good on account of the obstruction to the import of wool, and also, outside of a few congested districts in cities, better shelter at lessening cost to the occupant.

The agricultural class deserves some special consideration. It may be asked, If farming is not profitable, why do the crops increase? If market gardening is not profitable, why does the product increase in quantity and in value? If farmers do not prosper, why is it that there is a constantly increasing demand for labor on farms at wages that are much higher than they were ten to twenty years ago, to meet which demand for farm labor there is no sufficient supply? I anticipate the bugbear of the mortgage; but about that we are beginning to have data sufficing for a true solution. It is not true that the farmers, taken as a body, especially in the West, are oppressed with heavy mortgages. The very reverse is true. Let it suffice to refer to the special census bulletin giving the statistics of farm lands and mort-

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gages in Illinois. In this return, compiled by Mr. John S. Lord (whose reputation is well known to every one dealing with statistics) and by Mr. George K. Holmes, a separation is made between mortgaged acres and mortgaged lots. Dealing with mortgaged acres as a representative of mortgaged farms, we find that the percentage of the mortgage upon the true valuation of all the farms taxed in Illinois was only *thirteen and twenty-seven-hundredths*. Less than one-half of the farms in Illinois are subject to any mortgage, the percentage of the total number of taxed acres represented by the number of mortgaged acres being only thirty and seventy-eight-hundredths. Dealing with the mortgaged acres only, the average of the mortgage to the true valuation is but forty-two and twenty-seven-hundredths per cent. It therefore appears that much less than one-half of the farms of Illinois are subjected to any mortgage, and the average mortgage upon that part encumbered by debt is less than one-half its specific value. This official statement confirms the judgment which I had formed from data secured in a much less adequate manner from other States.

A comparison has been made of the quality of the immigrants who are now coming to this country with the quality of those of a former day. Without any reflection upon one race as compared to another, it may well be questioned whether any more hopeless class could have been dealt with than the poorest class of the Irish immigrants who were forced from their native land by the famine of 1846. Moreover, there are now within our borders a body of immigrants, greater in number than the five million who have landed on our shores during the past ten years, who have come out from more hopeless conditions than those people themselves: seven million blacks have migrated from slavery to freedom. Their progress is the wonder of economic history. Are we incapable of dealing with the Italians and the Jews? The records of the savings banks do not indicate want of thrift on their part, even of those who live in the slums of Boston. It does not appear that they are *not* ambitious. The records of the schools do not indicate that they are unwilling to learn; I have yet to hear of any great crowd of foreigners in any congested section of our country who have been as slow in recent years in their development of schools and English speech as the rich farmers occupying the richest part of Pennsylvania from a very early date.

There remains but one aspect of the question, namely, How is immigration regarded by members of the so-called labor associations, trades unions, and the like? According to the statement made, appar-

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ently by authority, by representatives of the labor associations, there may be one million persons in the various unions of this country. That number would constitute only one in twenty-three of all those who are actively occupied for gain in the conduct of all the arts of life, or a proportion of between four and five per cent of the whole number at work. The members claim rightly that their unions and associations are schools in economic science. This claim is certainly true; but these schools are not yet advanced in any very considerable measure in dealing with the subjects that come before them, although the pupils are beginning to understand them in a more sensible way.

To-day violence on the part of trades-unionists has practically disappeared in Great Britain and very nearly so in this country. It is claimed by prominent men among them that individualism is incomplete in its work, and that collectivism will take its place. That may be in particular trades where a mass of workmen are not themselves capable of dealing with their own affairs; but that phase cannot last long, because as the intelligence of each member is developed in the school of trades-unionism, he becomes restive and refuses to be bound to mediocrity. He works out from his narrow class into a broader and more hopeful mode of life and work. He soon learns that competition is the great force that lowers prices while it raises wages; he also soon learns that the effort of the union and association to limit the training or instruction of young people in each trade is a sure way to invite immigrants and thus to produce the very result which he is trying to have done with. I have observed that in just such measure as the regulations of trades unions and associations may for a time limit the number of artisans or operatives in a given trade, thereby preventing for the moment either the rise or the fall in wages, in just that measure invention is stimulated and immigration is invited.

It is greatly to the credit of the workmen, especially those in the unions, that they do not share in the effort to prevent immigration and do not approve a tax upon immigration. It is certain that in a very short time those who go to school in such unions will learn that privileged classes in the trades are as obnoxious and as unjustifiable as privileged classes in any other department of life. There can neither be monopoly in the conduct of commerce, in the conduc tof manufactures, nor a trades-union monopoly in the conduct of any single branch of industry. The more an attempt is made to create a trades-union *class*, the more the effort will defeat itself; and the more bitterly it is carried out, the more surely will those who refuse to join

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in such attempts to monopolize trade or art become the most skilful, the most prosperous, and the best representatives of that specific art, even though they are for a time subjected to opprobrium and ignominy.

Great forces are now in action in tending to break up the concentration of the factory system, which will also very surely break up the congestion in cities by diffusing the working population throughout the suburbs and over wider and wider areas. It will not fall within the scope of this treatise to deal at length with these new forces. But all the recent investigations as to the trend of population indicate that the increase of population within the limits of the cities is not so much in the crowded parts as it is in the environs, where better conditions of life and work can be obtained than have been possible under the extensive system of farming large areas. On the other hand, large farms are breaking up and the extensve system of farming is becoming more and more practised in agriculture. The excessive crowding in a few Eastern cities does not indicate a general tendency.

What may occur from the application of electricity in various ways one can hardly yet compass by any effort of the imagination. One of the latest consular reports is very significant. In and around the city of Saint-Etienne, France, there are eighteen thousand hand-looms which are operated in the dwelling-places of the weavers upon the finest kind of silk ribbons. The city authorities have lately made a contract with the owners of an electric plant to carry power for the operation of these looms into every household for two years, in which period a test may be made of the practicability and economy of this service. One can hardly imagine or picture the effect of such a force upon the future in the household arts when power, light, and heat may be applied in every household by the touch of a button in the wall; and until one's imagination can grapple with the possibilities of such a future the problem of immigration will remain undetermined. Every one's judgment upon the subject will vary with his confidence in a free government. To the writer it seems almost pusillanimous to refuse a refuge to the oppressed and to the industrious and capable, for fear that the institutions of this country may suffer. If we cannot deal with one-half of this great continent, of which the resources are as yet hardly even known, will not this prove that our capacity is not yet equal to our opportunities? Boast as we may of what we have accomplished, we shall no longer be able to justify by our conduct of affairs the methods which were established by our predecessors.

EDWARD ATKINSON.

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OCEAN TRAFFIC BY THE ERIE CANAL.

THE Hon. George H. Ely, of Cleveland, presented statistics at the Deep-Waterways Convention, held last December at Detroit, showing that about thirty-six million registered net tons of shipping passed that city during the two hundred and thirty-five days that the navigation of the Great Lakes was open. The aggregate tonnage entering and clearing from the ports of London and Liverpool during an entire year does not equal that passing Detroit in seven months, and this is a growing commerce. General Poe, the engineer officer in charge of the Government works on these channels, says: "For nearly thirty-five years I have watched its increase, but neither I nor any one else within my knowledge has been able to expand at the same rate. The wildest expectations of one year seem tame the next."

This traffic has been growing nearly ten per cent a year, but this rate of increase will not be continued in the near future, as the restricted depths and widths at several places already crowd the channels with boats nearly to the danger point. Neither a marked increase in freight tonnage nor any material decrease in freight charges can be expected until a minimum depth of twenty feet from Buffalo to Chicago and Duluth is obtained, as asked for by the Deep Waterways Convention. This may be obtained by 1896 and, it is claimed, will reduce freight rates on the Lakes by one-half.

Although, on account of the practice of vessels going "up" light, only about 30,299,006 tons of freight were transported during the season of 1890, they were carried an average distance of five hundred and sixty-six miles; so that, multiplying the tons carried by the distance in miles, we have more than seventeen thousand million ton-miles, or a freight distribution equal to almost one-fourth of the ton-mileage of all our railroads. This lake freightage has been done at an average charge to shippers of 1.3 mills per ton-mile. The shipments by railroad, on the contrary, are averaged by the Interstate Commerce Commission at 9.22 mills per ton-mile; so that there was a saving on each ton transported by this water road over the average charges by railroad, for an equal distance, of $4.48, or an aggregate

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saving, to be divided between the producers and consumers of this country, of more than $135,800,000.

As the Government has not appropriated quite $30,000,000 for the improvement of the Great Lakes, their harbors, and the rivers that run into them, the people of this country received through the cheapened distribution made possible by this expenditure, in the single year of 1890, four and a half times the total cost of the improvements; or, to state the advantages of this improved waterway in another way, the cost of lake freight was six and one-half per cent of the value of the goods transported, whereas if they had been transported at the average charge for railroad freight, the cost would have been fully forty-six per cent of their value. This percentage would have obviously taken so large a part of the value of a considerable proportion of the goods that the labor and profits of their production and distribution must have been lost to the community if dependence had been placed on railroads alone.

It will be noticed that the above-mentioned difference between the cost of railroad and lake freight is equivalent to the income at five per cent on a capital of $2,700,000,000, or more than ninety times the expenditure made by the Government to secure this cheapening in transportation. In addition to this direct beneficence, it is known that the improvement of our water routes has been influential in giving us cheaper railroad freight rates than are enjoyed by the people of any other country. No exact statement can be made showing their influence, or even the absolute reduction since a more liberal policy toward internal improvements has been adopted by the Government. But the editors of "Poor's Manual" returned the ton-mileage and freight receipts on the following seven trunk lines for 1865 and subsequent years, viz.: The Boston and Albany; New York Central; Erie; Pennsylvania; Lake Shore; Fort Wayne, and the Michigan Central, and since 1882 these figures are given for all the roads of the country.

From these returns we learn that in 1865 the average charge for carrying one ton one mile on these seven roads was 2.9 cents, and in 1890 the charge had been reduced to 6.8 mills. A comparison of this rate with the average rate charged on all roads given in "Poor's Manual" for 1890, 9.3 mills,[1] leads to the inference that the average rate in 1865 was nearly 4 cents; and an average of like comparisons for the nine years for which data are available points to 4.3 cents as the

[1] Poor's returning for the fiscal year of the companies and the Interstate Commission for the fiscal year of the Government.

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probable average freight rate in 1865. This may be thought too high, but it cannot be doubted that the average rate was equal to that charged on the great trunk lines of the country; and at this rate the freight transported on our railroads in 1890 would have paid over $2,200,000,000; but the total receipts from freights on all our railroads were but little over $740,000,000, leaving a difference of nearly $1,500,000,000, or a five per cent income on over $30,000,000,000.

Any claim that these reductions in freight rates are not consequent on, as they were concurrent with, the improvement of our waterways seems to throw the claimant upon a recognition of that fiscal policy which is so thoroughly and distinctively American. For this unparalleled decrease in freight charges did not commence until our protective policy had commenced to be operative, and there is no claim made that there was any alleviation of railroad freight rates in this country between 1850 and 1865. In England, on the contrary, where free trade was adopted forty years ago and the canals and waterways have gone without substantial improvements since the inauguration of their railways, there has been, as testified before a parliamentary commission on canals in 1883, no material reduction in freight rates for thirty years. Mr. J. S. Jeans, in his "Railway Problems," continues the statement with emphasis down to 1887.

The English trader is losing his hold, greatly through the fact that he pays English railways more for assembling and distributing his products than manufacturers of any other country. No known English authority puts the average ton-mile rate at a lower figure than one and one-eighth pence; the weight of evidence puts it at one and one-fourth pence, or two and five-tenths cents. It will not do to assign a difference of one hundred and seventy per cent in charges for an equal service in a land where the cost of railroad labor is about half the cost here to the superior resources of this country; for the developed resources, both mineral and agricultural, of England are greater per square mile than those of the United States. The superiority of this country lies in the larger wages paid for labor, a resource within the command of any country.

In spite, however, of these facts, which are not mentioned as heretofore unknown, all of our best thought (possibly because the newspapers which furnish its ultimate convictions have their business eye on railroad and banking advertisements) objects strongly to internal improvements. Demagogues in Congress inveigh against the prodigal expenditures under river and harbor bills, and a President of the

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United States refused his signature to a river and harbor bill in the interests of economy !

Nearly all of this traffic on the Great Lakes is American ; all of it except about six per cent is conducted in "vessels built in the United States, and owned by a citizen or citizens thereof." It is probable that very nearly ninety per cent of this large cargo tonnage, with the capital, employments, and profits engaged in its production, distribution, and consumption, is American. It has built up the lake cities from Duluth and Chicago to Buffalo, and the freight transferred at Buffalo to the Erie Canal is an important factor in developing the wealth of central New York and giving New York City the important position it holds in the manufacturing and trading world. Besides which, for a long time this freight paid tolls to the State averaging $4,000,000 per annum.

Among other things developed by the lake traffic is a land-locked marine, valued for insurance purposes at over $60,000,000. In this marine are one hundred and twenty-six vessels, registering one thousand five hundred net tons or more, eighty-nine of which are built of steel, and thirty-two additional steel vessels of large tonnage are now being built. These vessels have no superiors for strength in the world, and some of them, freight-carriers, in their regular business between Chicago and Buffalo, maintain a higher speed than the steamers of the Peninsular and Oriental line are required to maintain, which carry the mails between England, India, Hong Kong, and Australia, receiving £350,000 therefor from the British government and £60,000 from colonial governments, or $2,000,000 per annum.

There has long been a desire for an adequate outlet to the sea for this great commerce and the shipping which carries it. This was thought impossible, by the way of the Erie Canal, until Elnathan Sweet, then State engineer, read his paper, "The Radical Enlargement of the Erie Canal," before the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1885, showing that it was perfectly feasible to build a canal from Buffalo to the Hudson, of any desirable depth and width, to be fed by the water of Lake Erie, which would aid the transport of the bulky products of the West, as it flowed ever onward toward their market. And now the demand for some adequate outlet is increasing in volume and intensity, and will continue to increase until the improvement has been made, unless some adverse influence succeeds in substituting a measure, probably in the asserted service of economy, that shall fail to make an adequate or convenient waterway.

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The wishes and demands for any great improvement are always obstructed by conservatism that cannot appreciate the advantages which would accrue, and the water-road between the Great Lakes and the sea is also opposed by the force of the capital invested in our railroads. Any route through the United States will also be vigorously opposed by the Canadian influence, which wishes to see the gains made by the distribution of the products and consumption of the West enriching the valley of the St. Lawrence and Montreal rather than New York, with the valleys of the Mohawk and Hudson. Canada also desires the political power and commercial influence that would go with the control of our principal road to the sea.

It is very difficult to arrive at a satisfactory estimate of the commercial value of a watercourse through the State of New York sufficient in size to carry conveniently the traffic originating and ending in the Great Lakes; for the question involved is as to the value of additional length to any traffic route. This is a question which none of the great masters of transportation known to the writer seem able to answer. There are instances enough of extensions into undeveloped territory, and also of extensions into territory other roads have developed, but no company has yet reached out for thirty million tons of freight, and the problem seems without analogue. Hence, any attempt to treat the new water route as part of the existing route will be left to some writer better equipped with facts.

It is, however, possible to compare the values of two routes of known length, though such a comparison is obviously unfair to the project under consideration. By this method, assuming that an equal amount is transported over the two routes with equal facility, and, further, that all the freight starting from Buffalo is destined for New York, the yearly values or saving effected by the two routes would be proportional to their lengths. Consequently, instead of a saving of $135,500,000, the route from Buffalo to New York, only four hundred and ninety-five miles long, would yield a yearly value of $118,700,000 if built to carry thirty million tons per year. But the speed cannot safely be as great in a canal as in an open lake, and it is asserted that there is no material difference in the coal consumption per hour in the open sea and in the Suez Canal, where the speed is limited to five miles per hour. On this basis of a five-mile rate, as the average speed by freighters on the Lakes is about twelve miles per hour, the above-mentioned sum should be reduced to four-tenths, and the annual saving would be somewhat over $47,400,000.

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When the term "slow river" is used by steamboat men, it is intended to convey the idea that the water has fallen to such a stage that the boats in use, being very near the bottom, are retarded by friction of the water they displace, and their progress is comparatively slow in consequence. It is perfectly possible to build a channel of such restricted size that it would be a slow canal. If the canal should be of such insufficient size that only two and a half miles per hour could be made by boats of the standard size, its commercial value for such boats would obviously be cut in two. And, further, if the canal was only built to pass ten million tons at speeds of five and two and a half miles per hour, the commercial values would be reduced to $15,600,000 and $7,800,000 per annum respectively.

Attention is called to the fact that $47,400,000, the estimated saving attained on a canal capable of passing thirty million tons, is a five per cent income on $950,000,000, while $7,800,000 is the income on $156,000,000. And as only under exceptional circumstances will the cost of a canal increase in the same proportion as its capacity, the larger canal is not only more useful, but returns a larger percentage on its cost.

Some may doubt if thirty million tons of freight will ever seek transportation through any canal, however large it may be. There is nothing, however, in attainable statistics to cause doubt that the lake traffic will again double within ten years from the time its channels are deepened to twenty feet. As a matter of fact, the ton-mileage on our railroads has fully doubled during the nine years ending with 1890; it has increased in that time almost fifty per cent per mile of road operated. This is greatly due to the fact that produce can be carried approximately four times as far to market as twenty-five years ago, or commodities of one-fourth the value can be transported an equal distance.

In addition to the reduction in freight rates accruing from a large waterway to the sea, our lake marine would be available for direct trade, not only to our Atlantic coast, but to Gulf, South American, and European ports, and, instead of being idle five months of the year, could, and probably would, enter as a successful competitor in the world's carrying trade during the season our bulky crops are seeking a foreign market, and not only earn freight money to be re-expended in this country, but its competition would materially cheapen the cost of exportation.

There are two other considerations urging the construction of this canal. One is that of national defence; the other, that of national unity.

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Many will assert that there is no chance of war with Great Britain. They are of the class which has urged us to abstain from building war vessels for moral effect, and assert that arbitration will always settle difficulties between the two nations; but they should remember England would not hear of arbitration over the Trent affair, any more than it would arbitrate the late difficulty with Portugal, growing out of what the South Africans cheerfully refer to as "the jumping of Mashonaland"; nor are they willing to arbitrate with Venezuela over their appropriation of land at the mouth of the Orinoco. But when President Grant advised that our Government assume and pay the Alabama claims, a proceeding which would have effectually prevented Great Britain from engaging in war with any power until those claims had been liquidated, she was ready enough to arbitrate. England will not arbitrate with us unless she fears us. If once more we were in serious trouble, Russia would possibly interfere again to prevent such a syndicate as was once partly formed between England and France.

Those who have had their attention turned to the subject will remember that before the war of 1812 all plans for navigation between the Hudson and the Great Lakes made Lake Ontario a part of the route. But after the war, the present route of the Erie Canal was decided on. This decision was made because the route through Lake Ontario was plainly tributary to the enemy's country and resources, as it presented cheaper transportation to the sea via the St. Lawrence than by any other existing route. Trade came and went that way, and it was the British influence on that trade route that accounted for the Federalism of Vermont and northern New York and the inefficient prosecution of the war in Canada. So that it was patriotism that aided Clinton when sufficient prescience of the Western development was wanting to give confidence in the commercial success of so large a work for our resources of 1817.

This lesion of loyalty to our country occurred, it must be borne in mind, when our population was homogeneous and remembered the Revolutionary war, before any large addition had been made to it by immigrants with traditions differing materially from our own. Now that in some of our Western States two-thirds of the population are such immigrants or their immediate descendants, and there are probably three great organs of British commercial opinion in this country, *per capita*, where there was one in 1812, it seems strange that one of the principal committees of the House of Representatives, the Com-

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mittee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, should report a "joint resolution to promote the improvement of the waterway from the head of Lake Superior by way of the Welland and St. Lawrence canals and St. Lawrence River to the sea"—a route through foreign territory, one that would handicap all seaboard manufacturers with comparatively higher freight rates, and would inevitably increase our payments to foreigners for the transportation of our produce to market. As Canada, in the pursuit of trade, would resort to the same expedients as those adopted by corner-grocerymen and tip the servants, such a proceeding would result in great gains to those party managers who live on the corrupt money they distribute, to all venal politicians, and also to that class of writers which the Emperor William characterized the other day as "hunger candidates."

No honest man would receive any benefit from such a shameless perversion of the public money to the service and aid of a not always friendly government; and as no productive interest in this country could be as well served by an outlet to a port which is closed by ice for six months of the year, in place of one open all the year, it is probably safe to predict that this bill will not pass. It may also be asserted with confidence that the originators of the bill will be found demanding that any canal built through the State of New York shall be made free for the vessels of the country which would have received so much aid from the expenditure of United States money in the improvement of the St. Lawrence River.

EDWARD P. NORTH.

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MY BUSINESS PARTNER, THE GOVERNMENT.

WHEN I went into business, I associated myself with men whose characters and methods I knew, and with whom I could advantageously co-operate for the purpose of making money. It happened that the business undertaken was the exportation of American merchandise to foreign countries. We began it in the faith that so long as we carried on a legitimate trade we could do it without let or hinderance, but we were destined to be speedily undeceived. We had scarcely begun operations before we discovered that we had another partner, self-injected, who actively interfered in various ways, prohibiting the doing of many things, rendering difficult the doing of others, and whose meddling was dangerous to our prosperity, even when he was kindly disposed. This partner was the Government of the United States.

We soon had occasion to ship some merchandise to a foreign country, when we found that our partner had a business office called the custom-house, in which we were obliged to file a list of all articles shipped, with their value. He told us that this clearance was for statistical purposes only, and sacredly guarded; yet it soon appeared that any one for a small "tip" could get a copy of it, and thus acquire valuable information that might be used to the injury of our trade. It was desirable to have trustworthy statistics of exports, even at the expense of this unnecessary violation of business confidence; but examination disclosed that while many millions of dollars of American exports crossed the frontiers of Mexico and were shipped through Canada, no account was taken of them, and the statistics were thus rendered inaccurate and misleading.

We speedily became aware that our partner took a share of his profits in advance by exacting a tax on many foreign products brought into the country to be used in the manufacture of the merchandise which we were exporting. Our partner saw that this made it difficult to sell against our foreign competitors, and so he tried to help us. He devised a system of returning this tax when the goods were exported, but he arranged it so clumsily that only large manufacturers could

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afford to take the trouble to get this advantage, and even then the manufacturing methods in many cases could not be adapted to his requirements, for our partner was very fearful of giving back more than he received, and required oaths, bonds, and documents innumerable, tracing the foreign materials from their arrival here through the factories, on board the vessel, and to their actual landing in the foreign market.

At the time our partner deputed Mr. McKinley to reorganize his custom-house and tariff, we learned accidentally that this system was to be changed. The object seemed to be to relieve certain of his custom-house clerks of some labor and responsibility, at the expense of the merchant. Under the proposed system, it would have been practically impossible to comply with the regulations; returns of duties would not have been collectible and a fine of millions of dollars would have been levied on the export trade. We could not learn that any exporting manufacturers or merchants had been consulted, although a considerable part of their trade would have been ignorantly destroyed. With some difficulty the clauses were changed back to their original clumsiness.

In spite of these and other interferences, business grew, and it seemed possible to realize a further profit by buying sailing-vessels and steamships to carry goods to our customers and at the same time to fix a larger share of the carrying trade in American hands. Then we found that our partner, the Government, had arranged with certain other partners of his, in the ship-building business, that we should buy only ships built by them. But the ships built by them were so dear that we could not run them at a profit against foreign-built vessels, and we were forced to hire alien ships and carry on our business under foreign flags. Besides this, many staple raw materials were shut out by his tariff, which made freight dearer and raised the cost of delivering our goods in foreign ports. In some cases it became necessary to hire vessels in ports thousands of miles away and to bring them to the United States in ballast, while in the very ports they sailed from with empty holds cargoes of goods were stored, whose owners were eager to sell, while our people were equally as anxious to buy.

Our partner, the Government, tried to devise a plan to fix this without injury to the monopoly granted to his ship-building partners. We were to get a money payment for carrying the mails under the American flag. This promised well, and might have helped us to pay

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the high prices asked for American ships, but the law was exacting and the details were put in the hands of his Postmaster-General for settlement. This official was accustomed to driving shrewd bargains for himself, and applied his skill for the benefit of the Government. He prepared advertisements asking bids for carrying the mails over more than fifty routes. The conditions for the North Atlantic, New Orleans, and Norfolk routes were financial absurdities. Those for Brazil utterly ignored the character of commerce with that country. They required the steamers to call at so many ports, and allowed so short a period for a voyage that, after deducting the necessary loss of time for stipulated stops, the speed between ports must be equal to a voyage from New York to Queenstown in four days. In order to approximate this speed the ships would necessarily be of such large size that they could not enter some of the specified ports of call, and they would have to carry so much coal that they could take no cargo. The established line did not even bid, and has now ceased building American ships and is chartering English "tramps." These ridiculous advertisements were withdrawn, but those substituted for them were in large part preposterous, and few even of the established lines were willing to take our partner's money on the specified conditions. One of the few lines of steamers which did accept the terms offered was that running to Venezuela. The contract was hardly entered into before our partner, the Government, imposed a discriminating duty on Venezuelan products, and the owners must suffer a loss of freights homeward which seems likely to consume more than all the line may receive for carrying the mails. A story is told that the high official asked the owner of a steamship line why he did not run his steamers direct to a certain South American city, to which the owner replied that he would like to accommodate the Government, but the town stood some distance inland and upon a mountain. The whole thing was so mismanaged that few bids were made. Some of these were from irresponsible people, and scarcely a new line has been started, or appears likely to be, by reason of the measure.

Our partner had been for a long time in a most amiable mood towards the other American republics, and he wished to unite them to himself in bonds of exclusive amity. He saw both good politics and good business in it. To accomplish this end, he devised a scheme called "The Pan-American Congress." While we ourselves rate friendship alone at a moderate value as a basis for business, and believe that the average merchant will buy where he gets most for his

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money, yet friendship lubricates transactions, and we fully appreciated these efforts. To further the commercial object of this congress, my partner established a "Bureau of American Republics." It went zealously to work and published some attractive books about the countries south of us. They contain pleasing pictures and give many interesting facts, historical, geographical, and statistical. As sources of information they are superior to a school geography, inferior to an encyclopædia. Private enterprise produces annually in this and other countries dozens of commercial handbooks and trade directories far superior to the books of the bureau, and hundreds of salesmen representing American firms traverse these countries yearly. It scarcely seems likely that the labors of the bureau will prove worth the money spent in this amateur promotion of business.

Our partner's beloved sister-republic, Chili, recently passed through a trying political crisis, which eventuated in a civil war. The winning side believed that our partner had zealously favored the defeated, and friendship was replaced by dislike. As one of the results, certain sailors were badly treated there. The just resentment thus aroused was manifested with little of the kindly consideration which such a big, burly fellow might well have shown to his distressed friend. Insult was returned for insult, and an apology was forced in a way to leave soreness for many a day. The other republics looked on with a fear that their time might come some day, and some of them now show distrust rather than liking.

As exporters, we found the attitude of our Government partner benevolent and impartial in so far as we did not interfere with more favored partners, and that the meddling, which made exporting more difficult, arose from ignorance. But after a time some of our customers in foreign countries wanted us to sell goods for them in the United States. As soon as they sent any merchandise, our powerful partner assumed a very different attitude towards us. As importers we were presumably of bad character, to be watched as men who did not have the good of the country at heart. When the goods got here, that wonderful McKinley administration-bill met us. Strange and complicated oaths were required. Getting goods through his custom-house was possible only by hiring an expert. Part of the goods were taken to the appraiser's warehouse and kept an indefinite time. The great machine for restraining trade became very active. It were better that a thousand innocent importers should suffer annoyance and loss than that a single guilty one should escape. Some of the over-zealous

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custom-house clerks of our partner, under cover of the complexity and uncertainty of his tariff, rendered strained decisions to the disadvantage of the importer. The courts were filled with custom-house litigations in which a large majority of the judgments were in favor of the importers, but from which, even when successful, they suffered grievous damage and annoyance. On inquiring why importers were treated so, we learned that our partner had a number of favored associates. These men had his ear, and they insisted that they should be ruined unless importations were made difficult. Some of them supported their position by truthful representations as to the conditions of their industries. Others imposed upon him by false statements, which was easy, as he is necessarily very ignorant about such things. They pleaded the baby act for stalwart industries; they bribed with funds for campaign purposes; they frightened by threatening withdrawal of political support, and disquieted their workmen by gloomy predictions. As a result they had their will.

When we went to their favorites to buy goods for export we met various receptions. Some of them had tied the makers of one class of articles into a trust. They put their prices just under the importing point, and told us they did not care anything about foreign trade. They had the home market by the throat, and did not propose undertaking a fight outside the protective wall. We could do little with such combinations. They had a sure thing, they thought they could keep it, and they cared nothing for business involving competition. Others had crouched so long behind a protective wall that they could not believe it possible to battle successfully on even terms for a share of the trade of a billion consumers in non-manufacturing nations. Many were persuaded to make the effort; some fought half-heartedly; but numbers, believing in the skill and ingenuity of their workmen, poured as much energy into their foreign trade as into their domestic business and found it fully as valuable.

When our Government partner had outdone himself in serving his favorites, he deigned to look upon the exporters, and devised a helpful plan. He bargained for advantages in the custom-houses of certain countries. High hopes arose with the negotiation of the Brazilian and Spanish reciprocity treaties, which gave us certain exclusive advantages. These hopes are beginning to be realized. Other treaties have been negotiated, but all are not alike. The reciprocal concessions are not always exclusive. The treaty with the British West Indies is a case in point. The lower duties are granted, not to our

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partner alone, but to all the world, and the advantage comes in the cheapening to the consumer and the consequent increase of the consumption of articles which the islands must buy from us. But these advantages had in part to be paid for. It seemed possible to obtain them only by a threat of the imposition of duties on coffee, sugar, and hides. Some countries rely upon the exactions of the tariff for their chief revenue, and cannot afford to make tariff concessions. As a consequence, the rapidly growing commerce with Venezuela must be checked, the fine line of American steamers running to Venezuelan ports will suffer, and the trade with the less important but considerable markets of Hayti and Colombia will be checked.

For many years our partner had been buying silver bullion and coining it into light-weight dollars; but as he was always ready to give a gold dollar for one of these tokens, little harm seemed to result. Lately he has been buying silver bullion and paying for it with paper certificates which circulate as money. Having piled up a great heap of these tokens, he is now adding an immense weight of silver bars. He has based it all on a gold foundation, which is getting no broader, and there is a fear that the heap may soon topple over. Under the influence of this alarm and an enormous output, the market value of silver bullion is dropping lower and lower, and a gold premium is in sight unless this buying is stopped. But instead of stopping what experience shows to be a blunder, he has lately been talking of going further, and allowing any one in the world to force us to accept 412½ grains of silver in lieu of a dollar in the payment of a debt.

We therefore anxiously look to see what is the experience of our customers in silver-standard countries, among which my partner would thus wish to range himself. We find them groaning under the premium of 40 per cent which they are obliged to pay on importations from manufacturing countries. They are bewildered by the fluctuations in their standard of value. The risks of their international commerce are rendered greater by these frequent and often violent changes; they are working with an inferior tool and doing inferior work. The margins of business are already so small that they cannot be reduced. They therefore advance their prices to the consumer, and deduct from the price they pay a domestic producer enough to cover the possible losses from an unstable standard. So it is evident that the greater damage will not fall on us, but upon the consumer and the producer, and our injury will be secondary and mainly due to the unprosperous condition of the multitude, who are unable to pass on the loss to some one else.

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When I had to go to England and open an office for a time, I tried to discover why my English competitor was such a dangerous enemy. I found that his government let him very much alone, his secrets were sacredly guarded, he could buy what ships he would. It was not wicked to be an importer; return cargoes awaited him in every port. In the few cases where he came in contact with the government, the presumption was in his favor. He was neither coddled nor scolded, but permitted to manage his own affairs.

An avaricious man of great ability and powerful will for many years controlled the destinies of a South American republic; it was his custom to send for one and another merchant and say to him, "I am now a partner in your business"; but he so managed it that such firms had special opportunities and made great profits, of which he took his full share. This method was more frank and direct and less harmful than that to which we are subjected. My partner, who is the partner of many others, has been trying to be wise for us all, and so far as my own field of activity is concerned I see some benefit here and there, but it is more than offset by the friction and confusion due to ignorance in meddling powerfully with that infinitely complex and sensitive thing, commerce.

The law forbids a special partner to interfere with the management of a business in which he has an interest. This is to protect the general partners from inexpert meddling. I cannot but long for the day when my uninvited special partner, the Government of the United States, shall be prohibited from blundering interference and be relegated to his proper function. Then the business energy now wasted in overcoming unnecessary friction in rectifying blunders and in doing things in a poor way when a better way exists (all of which arises from the interference of my partner, the Government) could be expended in the extension and enlargement of a business which would give a profit to ourselves and a larger foreign outlet to the surplus products of American manufacturers.

ULYSSES D. EDDY.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC IN AMERICA.

I APPRECIATE the delicacy of the task before me when I attempt to discuss publicly the subject of musical culture in America. For several years I have been identified with German music, and I fear that I shall consequently be considered a German partisan. But at the outset of this article I wish to state that it is my purpose to make a plea, not for German music, but for the interpretation of the best music and the encouragement of the best musical culture in this country.

America may now be said to be in a state of transition with regard to music. It would be a platitude to say that musical taste has always existed in this country, for a love of music is characteristic of nearly all people. But music has not been scientifically encouraged here to any great extent until within the past few seasons. New York has had for many years productions of opera of more or less merit. It is only within the past half-dozen years, however, that these have been on a scale to compare with the productions of the best opera-houses in Europe. For several seasons we have had German opera presented in a manner that was elaborate in every particular; but through a strange combination of circumstances, though the public gave every sign of satisfaction with it, it was discontinued, and the old school of opera, which many of those who had the interest of music at heart hoped had been superseded by the higher forms of music developed within the last half-century, was substituted in its place. It is maintained by the advocates of the old style that this change was due to the lack of popularity and support of German opera by the New York public. This theory, however, can find no support from the facts.

Any one who has closely studied the music-loving public of America cannot fail to have been struck by the intense enthusiasm with which German music in nearly all of its forms has been received here. If opera in this country were given for the benefit of the public, such a change of policy as we have witnessed recently at the Metropolitan Opera-House, in New York, from German to Italian opera, would be a reasonable sign of a change in the popular taste; but as the conditions are different here, the same fact is not indicative of a similar circumstance. Opera in America does not

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mean artistic entertainment given for the people and supported by the people; it means simply a diversion on a large scale, established not for the instruction of the many, but merely for the amusement of the rich, who are the few, and supported by the rich. Consequently the change of policy simply demonstrates that the half-dozen wealthy men and women who have done most to maintain opera in New York have become weary of German opera as an amusement, and chosen to establish Italian and French opera in its place. This is not surprising, for German opera can hardly be called a mere amusement.

If it were a mere amusement I should have no desire to write this article, and indeed the subject of opera would be altogether too trivial for public discussion. But believing as I do that music is one of the highest and most ennobling of the arts, I cannot but regret the course which it is taking in this country. The millionaires of the Opera-House probably do not realize that the methods which they have chosen to afford themselves musical diversion are the most effective methods which could possibly have been chosen to obstruct the progress in musical culture of their fellow-citizens. Their action practically retards the musical development of New York, and, through New York, that of the whole country. For just as New York has for many years influenced the whole commerce of America, so it is now influencing the art development of America. If it could be said of these persons that their action was directed by any real love of music or by a desire to contribute to its advancement, the condition of affairs would not be so pitiable as it is; but few, if any, of them have any scientific knowledge of music, and only a small proportion of these have even the slightest appreciation of the pleasure which may be derived from it.

For the benefit of those who do not recognize the distinction between the old and the new form of opera, let me indicate what I regard as the fundamental differences between them. The old-fashioned opera doubtless had in its origin some resemblance to nature, but it certainly has grown away from nature and become *sui generis*. It is in no sense what the highest form of art should be—an expression of human emotions. Its music is of a melodious character which bears a relation to the best music somewhat similar to the relation that exists between nursery rhymes and an epic poem. German opera, on the other hand, may be defined as a musical drama. By its action and language it portrays the most profound emotions of humanity, which find an adequate expression in music of an appropriate exaltation. However, it is absurd to compare Italian and German opera;

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one might as reasonably compare the prettiness of a landscape and the grandeur of a majestic mountain. It is unnecessary for me to dwell at length upon the difference in effect upon the musical education of the public between the old and the new opera; the one entertains, the other elevates and instructs. Is not this enough to suggest the distinction which makes them foreign to each other?

If it were the office of art merely to amuse, something might be said in favor of the old form of opera, though it is hard to believe that one could really be amused by it. There are, however, other evils in connection with the production of old-fashioned opera besides those which are inherent to its nature. It has become thoroughly identified with the so-called "star system," one of the most pernicious evils from which musical art has ever suffered. The star system subordinates music to the musician, not, as should be the case, the musician to music; consequently people, instead of going, as they should, to hear the work of the composer, flock in crowds to hear or to see some interpreter who has won a reputation for the beauty of his voice or for some purely personal attraction which has no connection whatever with art. The consequences of this evil are disastrous; they tend to make the production of an opera as such a secondary thing, to subserve everything to the leading artist, and to cause the *ensemble*, on which the artistic excellence of an opera rests, to be neglected. A few years ago this system was immensely popular in America. No fair-minded person, however, can deny that it received a permanent blow by the establishment here of German opera. The German school of music certainly may be said to have done this if it has done no more: it has taught people that the opera is the thing, not the opera-singer, and that an imperfect performance, that is, a performance with one or two admirable artists supported by several inferior ones, is an intolerable breach of art. This fact makes me look with more or less satisfaction upon the three years of Franco-Italian opera which are before us, for I believe that in this period the American public will learn by contrast to appreciate the virtues of the German system of music. It seems to me that those people who take a sincere interest in the musical welfare of this country need feel no alarm at the present state of affairs. If one studies the evolution of opera, he will, I think, be convinced that the chances of its establishment as a permanent institution are decidedly in favor of the German rather than of the Italian and French opera—perhaps I ought rather to say in favor of opera produced after the German manner.

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A glance at the history of music in this country will make clear my reason for holding this view. The first ventures into the field of German opera were on the most modest scale, and were made, moreover, at a time when the beautiful voices and admirable singing of Mesdames Alboni, Jenny Lind, and Henrietta Sontag were delighting the public. The work which was done by the German singing societies of New York produced the most splendid results and prepared the way for the production of opera of the German school and in the German method. We have heard some admirable singers during the past season, but we should remember that a quarter of a century ago there were even greater vocalists of the sort of which Adelina Patti is now almost the only surviving specimen. A decade ago New York held a magnificent array of artists—Patti, Gerster, Trebelli, Nilsson, Sembrich, Scalchi, Campanini, and many others of almost as great excellence. Such an assemblage is not available nowadays. Nevertheless, in spite of their merits, the public tired of them and the pabulum of sweetness which they offered it. Consequently there was such a reaction against the old forms of music that German opera was established on an apparently firm footing, and was given the following winter with almost unprecedented enthusiasm. The splendid support and the interest with which it was received and its growth in the appreciation of the audiences for the next half-dozen years are now matters of history. It is pathetic to think that the education in public taste which was then begun has been so suddenly stopped.

Those who have attended the operatic performances in New York for the past few seasons cannot have failed to be struck by the difference in bearing between the audiences at the German and those at the Italian opera. The German opera attracted audiences which showed by the close and respectful attention they paid to the performances that they were profoundly interested in them. Indeed, they were so serious, so attentive, and so respectful that it was a pleasure, instead of a burden, for an artist to undergo the severe hardship which his work imposed upon him in order to win their approval. During the past winter, on the contrary, the lack of interest among those who attended the opera was so conspicuous that it could not fail to be noticed by the most superficial observer. The spectacle of fashionable people arriving in large numbers long after the performance has begun can hardly gratify those who look upon an opera as a unity which can be appreciated only in its entirety, and nothing can be more absurd or display a greater contempt for the musical art

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than the flocking to the opera-house of large crowds, not for the purpose of enjoying a great operatic work, but to hear one singer whose abilities so far outstrip those of his companions as to take him altogether out of the dramatic picture. The scenes which are enacted at the performances of Adelina Patti, for example, are the most disheartening to any real lover of the musical art that could be imagined. It is hard to believe, when one witnesses such scenes as these in New York, that the people who create them are in many instances the very ones who supported German opera here and conducted themselves with as much discrimination as the music-loving audiences of Europe do.

I cannot find any reason for the assertion which has been made on all sides of late that a change in musical taste has taken place in New York. It is true that there is in every large city a small contingent who care far more for artists than for art; these people, however, should not be taken seriously, for they know nothing whatever about art. It is worth noting, by the way, that they form the most capricious and the most treacherous of patrons, and their support is sure to be of the most unstable character. Their pitiable ignorance causes them to encourage artistic inaccuracies and perversions which the critical spirit of real music lovers would speedily eradicate. The absence of scientific criticism is an injury to any art. This fact was borne in upon me strongly when I witnessed the performance of "Faust" as given at the Opera-House during the past season. "Faust" is undoubtedly one of the best of modern operatic works, and it is often cited by the lovers of the old school as an ideal example of their favorite form of opera. But these enthusiasts are apt to ignore a fact which, by the way, is often forgotten, that Goethe had something to do with the creation of "Faust," in spite of the annihilating genius of Messieurs Barbier and Carré. I have no desire to criticise an artist of such really remarkable aptitude as Mlle. Eames, but I could not help wondering how she could offend the artistic sense of every intelligent spectator with her fine dressing and her high-bred air. Her performance of "Marguerite" has been called ideal, but I could find nothing ideal in such a distortion of one of the best-known characters in literature. Whether the character is called "Marguerite" or "Gretchen," she remains a simple rustic maiden, not the *chatelaine* that Mlle. Eames makes her.

Then, too, in the formation of the chorus the absence of healthful criticism this winter was very noticeable. But we must remember that the art *dilettante* such as we find in the opera boxes at the Metropolitan Opera-House has no interest in the chorus and not the

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faintest realization of its importance; on the contrary, he would be gratified if it could be eliminated altogether from operatic productions. Possibly this explains his stoical indifference to the offences committed by the chorus with which the people of New York have been afflicted during the past winter. On the whole, this season, brilliant though it may have been in places and in the brilliancy of the work done by a few of its artists, has yielded no artistic results whatever. The operas have been so hurriedly pitchforked on the stage that even the artists have suffered. This, however, is the Italian way of doing things, and may possibly be pardoned on that account. One must not expect too much when he finds in the cast one or two of the greatest singers in the world. If it is true that the French and the Italians are better singers than the Germans, it is equally true that the Germans are infinitely greater artists than the French and Italians. German singers, however great they may be, realize the importance of subjecting themselves to the same discipline as that to which the most unimportant character is subjected. They are, besides, more serious, more musical, and more conscientious than those trained in the slipshod Italian school which panders to their vanity and thus warps their artistic sense.

I have been accused of being a blind devotee of German opera, but I believe that this charge is undeserved. It is true that I adhere to the new school of music as opposed to the old, and I support any good music written after the new forms, whether it come from a German, French, an Italian, or an English composer. The Germans are not the only composers who follow the new school of musical composition, though inasmuch as this school was founded by a German, they naturally have become identified with it on account of the enthusiastic support which they have given it. It is a mistake, however, to say that the new forms of music are due wholly to Wagner. Wagner created them, but he was himself the creation of his time. We had grown away from the old methods, and the conditions were ripe for a new and higher development. Wagner saw in the opera the possibilities which it afforded for the expression of the profoundest emotions and the noblest sentiments of man, and he developed them as no one before or no one since has done. He saw clearly the folly of attempting to foster incompleteness in art, and maintained that no art deserved the name of art unless it was perfectly rounded; so he made opera the vehicle not merely for pretty voices, but for the highest forms of music. Wagner is to music what Shakespeare is to

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the drama. His theories have now been widely accepted, his example followed by many imitators, and there is no doubt that the future development of music will be on the lines he has laid down.

The Americans, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, are a musical people. Their taste is still unformed, but it is naturally a good one and is sure to grow in the right direction. But in order to grow in the right direction it must be properly cultivated. It has thus far been sufficiently developed to enable them to appreciate the superiority of the new methods in music over the old. What has already been achieved is remarkable when one considers the disadvantages which retard the progress of music in this country. Whenever operas have been given, they have been almost invariably sung in an alien tongue. This is of course a great obstacle to their appreciation. No satisfactory artistic results can be achieved here, nor can America produce any national music, until opera is given in English. I look forward to the time when American composers shall produce great operatic works of a distinctly original character written in the vernacular; but until that time comes I believe that such foreign works as are performed here should be translated into English. The achievements of such American composers as Professor J. K. Paine, who has done admirable work, of E. A. McDowell, whose compositions seem to me to be superior to those of Brahms, of G. W. Chadwick, Templeton Strong, and others augur well for the future productions of American composers. The unsatisfactory condition of our musical culture is due chiefly to the intermittent opportunities which are given here for musical education. It would be folly to expect people to form a healthy musical taste simply by hearing operas occasionally produced and almost always in an inadequate manner. Besides, such operas as we hear are generally given under alien conditions, which make them foreign to the American mind. The singers whom America imports in such large numbers from abroad do undoubtedly a great deal of good, but they also do harm, for they bring influences which are essentially un-American.

What we need is American opera given under American influences. This can be brought about only by an elaborate and well-organized system of musical education. We have plenty of good material for the making of musicians, but this material is buried beneath the army of foreign artists who come annually to our shores, and whom Americans have formed the habit of encouraging—often simply because they are foreigners. In order to bring out this latent material, a school for

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opera should be established here. If conducted on the best principles, it would be of inestimable advantage. It would keep at home those young musicians who annually go abroad to study, sometimes under the greatest disadvantages, and would encourage those to undertake a musical education who are deterred from it by the expense which they would incur by European training. The school should not only train singers, but also young men ambitious to become orchestra-players and orchestra-leaders. There should be in connection with it a theatre in which operas might be produced. The institution would thus be a practical school for opera. The first year after its establishment should be spent in fundamental training. Private performances of opera should be given, but no public ones until the artists had been thoroughly disciplined. As soon as this was accomplished, three or four operas might be publicly produced each year. Native singers would thus have the advantage of being heard under the most favorable conditions, and native instrumentalists would display their talent in the orchestra; we need, especially, a better training in this country for orchestra-leaders. American composers, too, would be greatly helped, for the school should endeavor to encourage them, not by ignoring works written by foreigners, but by giving preference to operas written by Americans. If it were possible to raise a guarantee fund for such an establishment, splendid results might be obtained in a very short time.

Such a plan as I have suggested may seem impracticable; but I am convinced that if it were carried out under the best auspices, that is, controlled by persons who had the interest of music at heart, it would surely be a success. But if it were controlled simply by the rich who regarded music as a mere diversion, it would surely be a failure. America is a great country, but it has as yet done very little in the arts. Nevertheless, there is no reason why it should not develop an individual musical art which should compare favorably with that of Germany or France or Italy. Such an institution would be of immense benefit if it only taught us to cease aping the French and Italian peculiarities and to work on individual lines. Let us, by all means, assimilate what is best in German, French, and Italian art, but we can do this without being enslaved by any one of them; and let us endeavor to express our own natures, which is, after all, the only means of attaining that highest and best of qualities, originality.

ANTON SEIDL.

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THE WOMAN'S EXCHANGE: CHARITY OR BUSINESS?

FEW persons whose attention is attracted by the modest sign of the Woman's Exchange, now found in nearly all our large cities, realize that a new competitor has appeared in the industrial market. Few even of those who have assisted in organizing and carrying on such Exchanges know that they have been instrumental in introducing a new factor into economic problems. Yet in spite of unpretentious rooms and unconcern as to economic questions, the Woman's Exchange has already had an appreciable effect on economic conditions, and must in future play a still more important part.

The history of these organizations belongs, however, to a history of philanthropic work rather than to that of economics. The first Exchange, the "Ladies' Depository Association" of Philadelphia, established in 1833, was founded by persons "who labored earnestly to arouse in the community an interest in the hard and often bitter struggle to which educated, refined women are so frequently exposed when financial reverses compel them to rely upon their own exertions for a support." In its foundation and in its management it was controlled entirely by philanthropic motives; it was to enable women "who had seen better days" and suffered more from the prejudices of society in regard to woman's work than from actual poverty, "to dispose of their work without being exposed to the often rough handling of shopkeepers, or to the then mortifying admission of their fancied humiliating condition." The second Exchange, the "New Brunswick, New Jersey, Ladies' Depository," founded in 1856, also was purely charitable in its motives, and it restricted its privileges to those who had been in affluent circumstances but were suddenly forced to become self-supporting. The first two Exchanges were the product of a generation in which charities of every kind were largely regulated by sympathy alone, and it was twenty years before similar organizations were formed elsewhere. In 1878 the "New York Woman's Exchange" was begun, and it added a new idea. Its aim was "beneficence, rather than charity," and it undertook "to train women unaccustomed to work to compete with skilled laborers and those

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already trained, and to sell the result of their industries." It came at a time when the organization of charities was first being attempted, and the principle was being slowly evolved that the best way to help an individual was to help him to help himself. Its aim and its management show the influence of the present generation in its study of philanthropy as a social and economic question.

Since 1878, the year which may be taken as the beginning of the period of the Woman's Exchange, nearly one hundred Exchanges have been organized, all, with scarcely an exception, growing out of philanthropic motives, but philanthropy governed by the principles of the present day, not charity pure and simple, but charity having a double end in view. The first and most important aim is the direction into remunerative channels of the work of "gentlewomen suddenly reduced to abject penury," with the secondary aim of encouraging "the principle of self-help in the minds of girls and women, who in the future, if necessary, will be helpful and not helpless when misfortune comes." In carrying out its object, the Exchange receives under specified conditions all articles coming under the three general classes of domestic work, needle-work, and art work. The domestic department includes all forms of food that can be prepared by the consigners in their own homes and sold through the Exchange. These articles form a dozen different classes and comprise more than two hundred and fifty varieties. They include every form of bread, pastry, cake, small cakes, cookies, cold meats, salads, soups, special and fancy desserts, preserves, jellies, jams, pickles, sauces, and delicacies for the sick.[1] In the department of needle-work nearly a hundred different articles are enumerated by the different Exchanges, and the number is practically without limit, since it includes every form of plain and fancy sewing. The art department is for the special encouragement of decorative art, and its possibilities as well as actual achievements are very great. These three departments are found in all the Exchanges, but each Exchange, according to its locality and the consequent needs of the community, adds its own special line of work. A few receive scientific and literary work, others arrange for cleaning and mending lace, re-covering furniture, the care of fine *bric-à-brac*, writing and copying, the preparation of lunches for travellers and picnic parties, and a few take orders for shopping. All the Exchanges have connected with them an order department, which is

[1] A very full list is given by F. A. Lincoln, "Directory of Exchange for Woman's Work," pp. 24–26.

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considered an especially satisfactory and remunerative part of their work.

In fulfilling its aim, the Exchange thus enters as a competitor into the industrial field, though without consideration on its own part of this side of its work; and it is as an economic factor, rather than as a charitable organization, that it is considered in this article. The place it has already won in this field is shown by the fact that there are now in operation about seventy-five Exchanges, a few in small places in thinly settled localities having been abandoned, and these are scattered through twenty-three States and the District of Columbia. A few of them are carried on by private enterprise, and make no public report, and several organizations have as yet made no statement of their financial condition. Sixty-six of them, however, receive work from nearly sixteen thousand consigners, to whom they paid last year, according to their last annual report, a total amount of more than $400,000. The following table shows the amount paid consigners by the ten largest Exchanges :

New York Exchange for Woman's Work	$51,000
Boston Woman's Educational and Industrial Union	34,510
Cincinnati Woman's Exchange	26,992
San Francisco Woman's Exchange	23,372
Baltimore Woman's Industrial Exchange	15,500
Philadelphia Exchange for Woman's Work	14,562
Columbus Woman's Exchange	13,000
Minneapolis Woman's Industrial Exchange	12,791
Topeka Ladies' Exchange	10,000
Milwaukee Woman's Industrial Exchange	9,824

It is of interest also to note the total amount paid to consigners by different Exchanges since their organization. The following table will show this :

New York Exchange for Woman's Work (12 years)	$417,435
Cincinnati Woman's Exchange (8 years)	175,130
New Orleans Christian Woman's Exchange (10 years)	173,223
Boston Woman's Educational and Industrial Union (6 years)	148,588
St. Louis Woman's Exchange (8 years)	55,000
San Francisco Woman's Exchange (5 years)	50,000
Rhode Island (Providence) Exchange for Woman's Work (10 years)	48,469
Richmond (Va.) Exchange for Woman's Work (7 years)	27,324
St. Joseph (Mo.) Exchange for Woman's Work (6 years)	19,233

The Woman's Exchange regarded as an economic factor must be considered in three aspects: (1) As a business enterprise; (2) from the

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point of view of the producer; (3) from the standpoint of the consumer.

Viewed purely as a business enterprise, the Exchange is a failure. Having charity to a particular class as its object pure and simple, no other result could be expected. Aside from the few private Exchanges that have been started as business ventures, but two or three are self-supporting. That at New Orleans has been self-supporting from its organization, and it has been one of the best organized and most successful of all the associations. Some of the organizations go so far as to say that self-support has never been an object with them. In the great majority of the Exchanges a commission of ten per cent is charged on all goods sold, but this sum is inadequate to meet current expenses. The Exchange, therefore, relies for its support upon private contributions and the ordinary means adopted by other benevolent organizations for increasing their revenues. The treasurers' reports show that part of the funds at command have been derived from charity balls, calico balls, rose shows, chrysanthemum shows, flower festivals, baseball benefits, picnics, excursions, concerts, bazars, lectures, readings, Valentine's Day cotillon suppers, concert suppers, club entertainments, carnivals, kermesses, sale of cook-books, flower-seeds, and Jenness-Miller goods, and in some instances from raffles. This fact alone separates the Exchange from other business enterprises. Having no capital to invest, it must pursue a hand-to-mouth policy, and employ means for increasing its resources which would never be considered by other business houses. In a few cases where Exchanges own their buildings and sub-let parts of them, or where they are able to maintain a profitable lunch department, it is possible more nearly to make both ends meet. Under other circumstances the Exchange becomes poorer as its business increases, and there is a fresh demand for subscriptions and entertainments to meet current expenses. It is true that the Exchange does not wish to be considered a business enterprise and be judged by ordinary business rules, but the fact that it enters the business field as a competitor with other enterprises makes it inevitable that it be judged as a business house, and not as a charitable organization. The persistence with which different Exchanges iterate and reiterate the statement that their object is charity "to needy gentlewomen," and not financial return, is evidence of a consciousness of their present ambiguous position. As long as the Exchange undertakes business activities, it cannot escape judgment by business principles.

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The Exchange has from the first hampered itself with many hard and pernicious conditions. The requirement is universal that all consignments shall be made by women. Valuable industrial competition is thus shut out, and the exclusion of men from the Exchange is as unreasonable as the exclusion of women from competition in other occupations. There are many household articles, the product of inventive and artistic talent, which are the handiwork of men and should find place in the Exchange. The second restriction found in the majority of Exchanges is that no consignments shall be received except from women who state that they are dependent for entire or partial support on the sale of the articles offered. Some of the early Exchanges made at first the additional requirement that the work offered should be by women who had formerly been in affluent circumstances but were rendered self-supporting by changes of circumstances. The latter requirement has now been abolished, and in a few of the more recently organized Exchanges, especially in the Exchange departments of the Women's Educational and Industrial Unions, the requirement of the necessity of self-support has been abandoned. Some Exchanges also modify this condition so far as to state that all the proceeds of sales made for those not dependent on their own exertions or support must be appropriated to charitable purposes, and at least one Exchange apologizes for accepting articles from young girls who had the necessaries, though not the luxuries, of life, on the ground that since these girls give the results of their work to charity, the Exchange is teaching them a valuable lesson.

The principle is a pernicious one, and is never recognized in other enterprises. Just as long as society asks concerning any article, "Does the maker need money?" and not "Is it the best that can be made for the price?" just so long a premium is put on mediocre work. It is a question never asked in other kinds of business; the best article is sought, regardless of personal considerations, and it is at least an open question whether in the end the interests of the individuals to be benefited by employment are not thus best served. If the same principle were applied to the legal and medical professions, society would be deprived of the services of many whose help is necessary for the preservation of its best interests. The application of the same principle elsewhere would cause every producer to withdraw from the industrial field as soon as he had gained a competence. The result would often be that as soon as an individual had reached great skill in producing an article, he would be forced to step aside and yield

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his place to others. Moreover, society has a right to demand the best that every individual can give it; and just as long as the Exchange persistently denies itself and its patrons the benefit of the best work wherever it is found, regardless of money considerations, just so long it will fail to secure the best economic results. It does not indeed concern itself as to these results, but it cannot thereby escape them.

But aside from the injurious economic effect in thus limiting production, it places the whole idea of work on a wrong basis. It assumes that work for women is a misfortune, not the birthright inheritance of every individual, and that therefore they are to work for remuneration only when compelled by dire necessity. Moreover, every individual has the same right to work that he has to life itself, and to shut out the rich and well-to-do from the privilege is as unfair to the individual as it is to society. Indeed, it may be assumed that the members of this class are, as a rule, better qualified for work than are other classes, since wealth has brought opportunities in the direction of education and special training, and society loses in the same proportion as it deprives itself of their services. It is true also that the higher the standard set in any department of work, the greater the improvement in the work of all workers in the same field.

But not only does the Exchange deprive itself of positive good in thus refusing to accept the best wherever it is found, regardless of money considerations—it puts upon itself the positive burden of enforcing a questionable condition. "Necessity for self-support" is a relative term; and when the responsibility of the decision is put on the consigner, the danger is incurred on the one side of shutting out from the privilege of the Exchange many who are unduly conscientious, and on the other side of encouraging deceit in regard to their necessities on the part of the less scrupulous. The Exchange must be ever on the alert to guard against imposition and fraud; and however much it may disclaim the idea, it must to a certain extent make itself the judge of its consigners' necessities. When this alternative is forced upon it, it must perform a task difficult in proportion to its delicacy, and one that would be resented in the business world as an unwarranted intrusion into private affairs. The Exchange by the use of these methods prejudices itself in a business way in the eyes of many who would be valuable consigners.

A third restriction that has fettered the Exchange has been the geographical limitation imposed by many organizations. Many receive no consignments from outside the State, some New England

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Exchanges limit consignments to that section, a few restrict consignments to residents of the city, and others, while having consigners in all parts of the country, congratulate themselves, as does one association, that "two-thirds of the proportion of money paid out goes to the ladies of this city." Still another Exchange, on the Pacific coast, complains bitterly of the fact that articles have been sent to it by persons outside the State, and not dependent on their own labors for support, "but who would speculate upon the charitable spirit of the public," and its president's report recommends that it "prohibit exhibits from the East altogether." This restriction undoubtedly grows out of the idea that the Exchange is a dispenser of charity and should therefore aid first its own friends and neighbors. It is a spirit akin to that which in mediæval and even modern times has resented the entrance of new workers into any occupation or community. But it must again be insisted that while the Exchange is theoretically only a benevolent association, it is practically a business house, and as such must be judged by business principles. The most successful business firm that should adopt the policy of purchasing its supplies only within the State or city would soon find its trade decreasing, while for a new house to adopt the policy would be suicidal. Even the present high protective tariff is not so absolutely prohibitory as is this provision of many of the Exchanges. Aside from other disadvantages, the plan prevents the infusion of new ideas so necessary to healthy growth, and it renders almost impossible that market criticism which secures the best industrial results. It is in distinct violation of that principle of commercial comity between States which led the framers of the Constitution to prohibit both import and export duties on all goods exchanged between the States, and to that extent is out of harmony with the recognized policy of the country regarding interstate exchange of commodities.

A fourth economic difficulty is the fact that the Exchange has no capital. It does simply a commission business, and it is a recipient of whatever goods are sent it which reach a certain standard; its attitude is therefore negative rather than positive. Its consigners are obliged to purchase their own materials in small quantities in retail markets, and therefore to place a higher price on their articles than would be the case could the materials be purchased by or through a central office. This lack of capital and its passive attitude prevent the Exchange from keeping its finger on the pulse of the market; there is no connection between supply and demand, and no way of

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establishing such connection. This difficulty, which is encountered in all business enterprises, is multiplied by the number of the consigners. The Exchange refuses to accept articles if they do not reach a fixed standard, but not because the market is glutted. The loss accruing from an overstocked market, it is true, falls immediately on the consigners rather than on the Exchange, but the Exchange suffers directly through the loss of the commission retained on all goods sold, and indirectly in acquiring the reputation as a business house of keeping in stock articles not in demand and of failing to supply the market with others that are.

The Exchange as a business enterprise is also open to other criticisms. It is not self-supporting, and therefore gives a partial support to women who have come into competition with women not receiving the assistance of the Exchange. The well-meant charity is thus instrumental in keeping at a low rate the earnings of women who do not receive such partial support. Many women are too much the victims of prejudice and false pride to come out openly as wage-earners, and to these the Exchange gives its assistance, to the disadvantage of those who struggle on unaided by it. It has employed "gentlewomen" in its salaried positions, and by this restriction practically carried out, though not embodied in its rules, it has deprived itself of the services of some who would have been of valuable assistance through the business experience and executive ability they could have brought to bear on this work. It has required that all its consigners shall be known by number and not by name, thus allying itself, as regards one custom, with penal and reformatory institutions. The Exchange by its limitations has encouraged the idea that women can work by stealth without being guilty of moral cowardice, and it has fostered the spirit that carries lunches in music-rolls, calls for laundry work only after dark, and does not receive as boarders or lodgers wage-earning women. It has countenanced a fictitious social aristocracy by referring so uniformly to its consigners as "needy gentlewomen." It has said in effect, "work for remuneration is honorable for all men; work for remuneration is honorable for women only when necessity compels it."

But while the Exchange is open to serious criticism from a business point of view, it has accomplished much and has in it still greater possibilities. It has set a high standard for work, and insisted that this standard shall be reached by every consigner not only once or generally, but invariably. It has maintained this standard in the face of hostile criticism and the feeling that a charitable organization

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ought to accept poor work if those presenting it are in need of money. It has shown that success in work cannot be attained by a simple desire for it or need of it pecuniarily. It has taught that accuracy, scientific knowledge, artistic training, habits of observation, good judgment, courage, and perseverance are better staffs in reaching success than reliance upon haphazard methods and the compliments of flattering friends. It has raised the standard of decorative and artistic needle-work by incorporating into its rules a refusal to accept calico patchwork, wax, leather, hair, feather, rice, spatter, splinter, and cardboard work. It has taught many women that a model recipe for cake is not "A few eggs, a little milk, a lump of butter, a pinch of salt, sweetening to taste, flour enough to thicken; give a good beating and bake according to judgment." More than all this, it has pointed out to women a means of support that can be carried on within their own homes, and is perfectly compatible with other work necessarily performed there. It has in effect opened up a new occupation to women, in that it has taught them that their accomplishments may become of pecuniary value, and a talent for the more prosaic domestic duties turned into a fine art and made remunerative. It has enabled many women who have a taste for household employments in their various forms to take up such occupations as a business, when they would otherwise have drifted into occupations for which they have had no inclination. The Exchange thus assumes a not unimportant place in the history of woman's occupations. The factory system of manufactures transferred the labor of many women from the home of the producer to the business establishment of a corporation. The anti-slavery agitation and the founding of Mount Holyoke Seminary and Oberlin College gave women a more prominent place as teachers and in the professions. The Civil War opened the doors of mercantile pursuits. It has been through the Woman's Exchange that women have been taught that a means of support lies open to them at their own doors; and thus the Exchange has done something to relieve the pressure in over-crowded occupations.

The advantage that has been taken of this new idea is wide-spread. The sixteen thousand consigners on the books of the Exchange are but a part of the still larger number of women who are turning to practical advantage their tastes for sewing and cooking in all of their various forms. Before the opening of the Exchange, as still, indeed, women seeking remunerative employment were forced to go into one of the four great occupations open to women—work in factories,

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teaching, domestic service, and work in shops. But it has been impossible for all women desiring occupation to find it in these four great classes of employment. Many desire employment, but are forced to carry it on in their own homes; others have no taste whatever for any of the lines of work mentioned; and conditions under which many kinds of work are performed render other occupations obnoxious to others; still others prefer work which gives greater opportunity for the exercise of individual taste and ingenuity than do some of these occupations. Such women have found through the Exchange a means of support and opportunity for work which they could not find elsewhere. They are learning that society is coming to respect more the woman who supports herself by making good bread, cakes, and preserves than the woman who teaches school indifferently, gives poor elocutionary performances, or becomes a mere mechanical contrivance in a shop or factory. They are finding that the stamp of approval is ultimately to be put on the way work is done rather than on the occupation itself. Thus it is that hundreds of women from Maine to Texas and California are obtaining for themselves and others partial or entire support by making and offering for sale, either through business houses or private orders, cake, bread, preserved fruit, salads, desserts, and an innumerable number of special articles, in addition to the products of artistic needle-work and decorative art work. Not only are these articles found in the large cities, but in country villages many women are engaged in such work and often find a ready sale for it without the trouble and expense of sending it to city markets. In one village of only five hundred inhabitants one young woman makes and sells daily thirty loaves of bread. In a small Eastern village another bakes and sells daily from thirty to a hundred loaves of bread according to the season, and cake and pastry in the same proportion.

The demand for work of this kind is as yet limited, and therefore the net profits are in most cases small; yet in some instances a fair competence has been secured. One person in a country town has made a handsome living by making chicken salad which has been sold in New York City. Another has cleared four hundred dollars each season by making preserves and jellies on private orders. A third has built up a large business, employing from three to five assistants, in making cake. Still another living near a Southern city has built up "an exceedingly remunerative business" by selling to city grocers pickles, preserves, cakes, and pies. One cause given for

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her success has been the fact that "she has allowed no imperfect goods to be sold; everything has been the best, whether she has gained or lost on it." A fifth has netted one thousand dollars a year by preparing mince-meat and making pies of every description; and a sixth has, with the assistance of two daughters, netted yearly one thousand five hundred dollars above all expenses, except rent, in preparing fancy lunch dishes on shortest notice and dishes for invalids. Still one more began by borrowing a barrel of flour, and now has a salesroom where she sells daily from eighty to a hundred dozen Parker House rolls, in addition to bread made in every conceivable way, from every kind of grain. More moderate incomes are made by others in putting up pure fruit juices and shrubs, in preparing fresh sweet herbs, in making Saratoga potatoes, and *consommé* in the form of jelly ready to melt and serve. So successful have been these ventures that some of those engaging in them have acquired not only a financial profit, but a wide reputation for the superiority of their goods. In some instances the articles made are included in the catalogue of goods sold by the leading dealers in fine groceries in New York City.

These illustrations have been taken from the single department of domestic work; similar ones could be given from the class of plain and fancy needle-work and decorative art work. Surely it is better for the individual and better for society that these persons should turn to useful account their various talents, rather than attempt to enter many of the over-crowded occupations and do work for which they have neither talent nor inclination.

But not only is the Exchange directly and indirectly of value to producers, it is of equal importance to consumers. It simplifies many housekeeping problems in families where there is more work than can be performed by one domestic employee and not enough for two, by making it possible to purchase for the table and other household purposes many articles made out of the house of the consumer. In a similar way it is of assistance in all families who do "light housekeeping." It also enables them to purchase articles ready for use which have been made under the most favorable conditions. A specific example of this is seen in the preparation of fruit for winter use. This is at present done in the family of each consumer, but the canning in cities, by individual families, of fruit, often in an over-ripe or a half-ripe condition, is as anomalous as would be the making to-day of dairy products in the same localities. The canning factory has come into existence to meet the demand, but the canning factory cannot

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meet the needs of private families, since the greatest perfection as regards results is secured only when articles are handled in small quantities. If all fruits could be preserved in the localities where they are produced, the consumer would gain not only in securing a better article than can now be produced after shipment, but the cost would ultimately be lessened, since fruit could be thus preserved at less expense than when it is shipped to cities and there sold at a price including cost of transportation and high rents. Ripe fruit demands the most speedy and therefore the most expensive modes of transportation; preserved fruits can be shipped at leisure, by inexpensive methods. The consumer must also be indirectly benefited as well as the producer, from the fact that such a policy would prevent a glut in the market of such perishable articles and the consequent discouragement on the part of the producer, sometimes ending in a resolution to grow no more fruit for market, owing to the loss entailed. What is true of the purchase of fruit thus prepared is true also of numerous other articles. Scores of articles such as boned turkey, calf's-foot jelly, chicken jelly, chicken broth, chicken croquettes and chicken salad, pressed veal, mince-meat, bouillon, plum pudding, and many miscellaneous articles could be thus produced under more advantageous conditions than at present. Moreover, many abandoned farms could be utilized as fruit farms, or for other purposes, which are now too remote from shipping centres to permit the transportation of ripe fruit, but could be made of use through the Exchange.

Another advantage gained by the consumers is that they are thus able to take advantage of specialized labor. This, again, is evident in the domestic department. The consumer is usually obliged to depend on the skill of a single cook or baker, while through the Exchange the works of many producers are placed side by side in competition, and thus in the end the highest standard is secured. For both producer and consumer, therefore, the Exchange is of advantage in thus affording an avenue for specialized work. It thus makes possible to a certain extent the division of labor which has been but partially accomplished in the household.

Another field of work open to the Exchange is in becoming a medium for the exchange of workers as well as of work—of affording a means of communication between workers in different lines or between the producer and consumer. Very much of the work now done in the house by those living there could be done to better advantage by those coming in from outside. Special skill in arranging rooms,

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hanging pictures, preparing for lunches, teas, or other social entertainments, repairing furniture and wardrobes, fine laundry work, special table service, etc., could be performed for housekeepers by those who retain their own homes and yet are able and anxious to give a few hours daily to outside work. The Exchange, through a bureau of information, could accomplish much for both those wishing work and those wishing workers, as well as in a business way for itself. In many ways, it is thus seen, the Exchange is in harmony with the economic and industrial development of the time. As far as this is true it has in it the elements of permanence. Wherever it runs at right angles to present economic tendencies, it must be open to criticism and also contain in itself the germs of subsequent failure.

If all idea of charity *per se* could be eliminated from the Exchange, if the word "gentlewoman" could be dropped from the page of its reports, the by-law limiting consigners to self-supporting women stricken out, its consigners known by name instead of by number, and the idea abandoned that it is to help women to help themselves only "when misfortune comes"; if it could cease to be supported by donations, kermesses, charity balls, and miscellaneous entertainments; if it could refuse to constitute itself a judge of its consigners' necessities; if the name could be changed to Household Exchange or one signifying the character of the goods sold rather than the nature of the makers; if, in other words, the Woman's Exchange could be put on a purely business basis and become self-supporting, it would cease to be what it now is, "a palliative for the ills of a few," and become what it aims to be, "a curative for the sufferings of the many."

LUCY M. SALMON.

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS IN THE MAY FORUM.

MICHAEL D. HARTER (*The Blight of Our Commerce*), born at Canton, O., in 1846, is a resident of Mansfield, O., and a Democratic member of Congress. Mr. Harter has had long experience as a private banker and manufacturer. He is a vigorous opponent of the free coinage of silver, and it was largely to his efforts that the defeat of the Bland bill was due.

SENATOR WILLIAM FREEMAN VILAS (*The Threat of the Present Coinage Law*) was born in Chelsea, Vt., July 9, 1840, whence his parents removed to Wisconsin while he was a child. He was graduated at the State University of Wisconsin in 1858, and at the Albany Law School in 1860. He was a member of the Legislature in 1884, and chairman of the Democratic National Convention in the same year. During President Cleveland's administration, he was successively Postmaster-General and Secretary of the Interior. By the last Legislature he was elected United States senator.

JAMES C. HEMPHILL (*The Loss of Southern Statesmanship*) was born in South Carolina, and graduated from Erskine College in 1870. He entered journalism as the editor of the "Abbeville Medium," in 1871, then one of the leading weeklies in South Carolina. In 1880 he joined the local staff of the Charleston "News and Courier," of which he became in 1889 the editor and manager.

S. C. T. DODD (*Ten Years of the Standard Oil Trust*), born in Franklin, Pa., in 1836, was graduated at Jefferson College, Pa., and practised law in his native city until 1881, when he moved to New York City and took charge of the legal business of the various corporations which were afterwards united in the Standard Oil Trust. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania in 1873, and took a leading part in framing the provisions relating to corporations. He has written various articles in favor of freedom of association.

TIMOTHY DWIGHT (*The True Purpose of the Higher Education*), born in Norwich, Conn., in 1828, after graduating from Yale, in 1849, studied theology for three years and then taught there until 1855, when he studied for two years at Bonn and Berlin. In 1858 he became professor of sacred literature and New Testament Greek in Yale Theological Seminary. In 1886 he was made president of Yale.

ULYSSES D. EDDY (*My Business Partner, the Government*), born in 1843, is president of the Coombs, Crosby and Eddy Co., of New York, which has an export trade with all the foreign countries with which we deal. He has travelled considerably, and his large practical experience has made him an authority on commercial affairs.

E. L. GODKIN (*Idleness and Immorality*), born in Ireland in 1831, was graduated at Queen's College, Belfast, in 1851. He came to the United States in 1856, studied law in New York, and was admitted to the bar in 1859, but practised only a short period. He established and edited "The Nation" in 1865, and when in 1881 this publication was made the weekly edition of "The Evening Post," he assumed an editorial and proprietary interest in both papers.

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D. R. WILKIE (*Advantages of the Canadian Bank System*) was born in Quebec in 1846 and educated at the Quebec High-School and at Marvin College. He entered the service of the Quebec Bank in 1862, and assumed the cashiership of the Imperial Bank of Canada at its organization in 1875 and still holds that position. He has been vice-president of the Toronto Board of Trade and was chairman of the bankers' section of that board in 1889-90, when the "Bank Act" was being prepared.

BISHOP HENRY C. POTTER (*The Significance of the American Cathedral*), born in Schenectady, N. Y., in 1835, was educated at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of Virginia. He was successively rector of churches at Greensburg, Pa., and Troy, N. Y., assistant rector at Trinity Church, Boston, and rector of Grace Church, New York. In 1883 he became assistant to his uncle, the late Bishop Horatio Potter, whom he succeeded as Bishop of New York.

EDWARD ATKINSON (*Incalculable Room for Immigrants*), was born in Brookline, Mass., in 1827. He is president of the Boston Manufacturers' Mutual Fire Insurance Company, which wrought a revolution in the construction and security of manufacturing buildings, and he is the inventor of the "Aladdin Oven." His numerous works include: "The Collection of Revenue," "The Railroads of the United States," "The Railway and the Farmer," and "The Distribution of Profits."

EDWARD P. NORTH (*Ocean Traffic by the Erie Canal*) was born in Hartford, Conn., in 1835. In 1852 he joined an engineering party in Illinois and during 1854-56 studied engineering under Prof. William M. Gillespie at Union College. Since then he has been employed chiefly on works of public utility. He was elected a member of the American Society of Civil Engineers in 1867.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT (*Does the Factory Increase Immorality?*), born in Dunbarton, N. H., in 1840, was educated in New Hampshire and Vermont, and was admitted to the bar in 1865. He moved to Massachusetts, where he served in the State senate in 1871-72. He was chief of the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1873-88, appointed supervisor of the United States Census in Massachusetts in 1880, and in 1885 first commissioner of the Bureau of Labor in the Interior Department in Washington, and he has held many other public offices. He is an authority as a statistician and economist.

ANTON SEIDL (*The Development of Music in America*), born in Pesth in 1850, received his musical education at the Leipzig Conservatorium. In 1872 he was employed at Bayreuth by Wagner to make the first copy of the score of the Niebelungen tetralogy, and he also assisted at the festival there in 1876. In 1879 Wagner's recommendation secured for him the post of conductor of the Leipzig Opera House, which he held until 1882, when he travelled extensively. In 1883 he became conductor at the Bremen Opera-House, and in 1885 conductor of the Metropolitan Opera-House, where he remained until the past season. He is at present the conductor of the Philharmonic Society of New York.

LUCY MAYNARD SALMON (*The Woman's Exchange—Charity or Business?*), born in Fulton, N. Y., was graduated at the University of Michigan in 1876, and was a graduate student in history there in 1882-83. She has been since 1887 associate professor and professor of history at Vassar College. She is the author of a "History of the Appointing Power of the President," and is a contributor to historical and educational periodicals.

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